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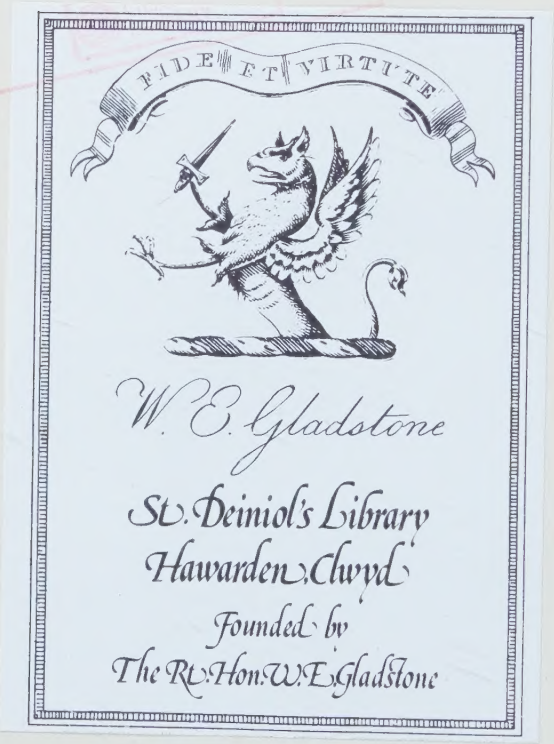

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(Mark. Gospel of)

THE GOSPEL OF MARK

THE GOSPEL OF MARK:
ITS COMPOSITION AND DATE

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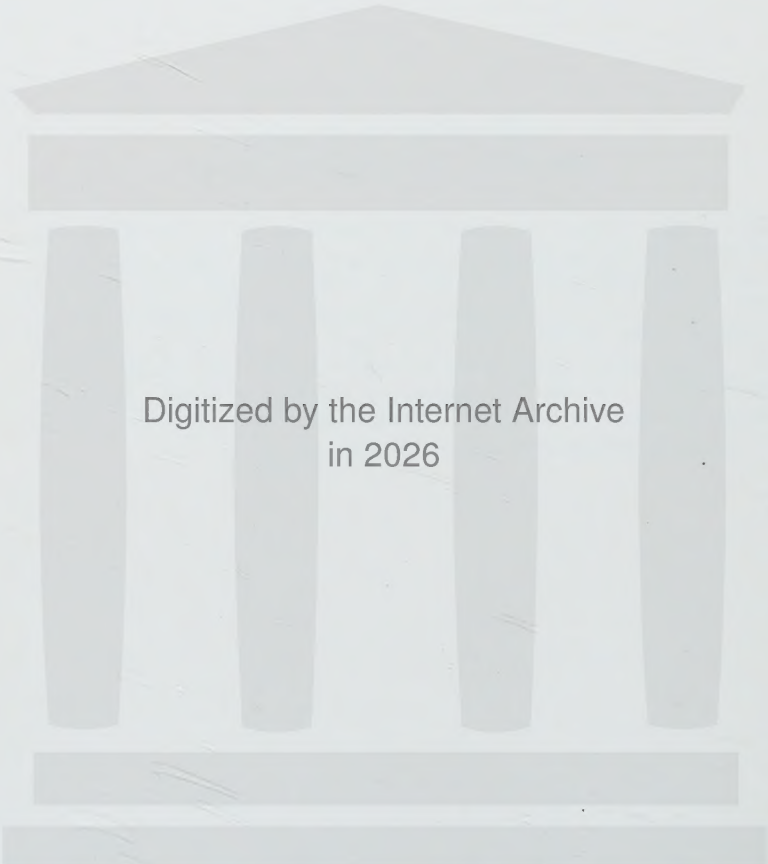
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PREFACE

THE present work is intended to complete the writer's studies into the origin and nature of our oldest extant Gospel. In 1909 the Yale University Press published as the first of an intended series to be known as "The Modern Commentary" a volume entitled *The Beginnings of Gospel Story.* This was "A Historico-critical Inquiry into the Sources and Structure of the Gospel according to Mark, with Expository Notes upon the Text for English Readers." It discussed the question of geographical origin (pp. xxviii-xxx), but with the brevity imposed by proportionate consideration of other subjects proper to an Introduction to the Commentary. Fuller treatment of the question of provenance was made necessary by increasing interest in the history of the writing as the conviction became more and more general among scholars that Mark does indeed represent these "Beginnings." In 1919 Volume VII of *The Harvard Theological Studies,* entitled "Is Mark a Roman Gospel?" was published by the Harvard University Press, meeting this requirement so far as it lay within the writer's power. Meantime questions of Composition and Date came very prominently into the foreground. To these the present volume is dedicated.

Two conspicuous features of recent gospel criticism have compelled the most careful reconsideration which can be given to these questions of the Composition and Date of Mark. The vital importance assumed by them since the breaking away by Harnack and a group of philologians from formerly accepted dates for the origin of the Synoptic writings has been set forth in our opening chapters. The present writer hopes that his work in vindication of ancient tradition on this score may contribute to a result corresponding in some degree to the vindication now generally accorded to ancient datings for the Revelation of John against the attempt of the Tübingen School to place its composition a generation earlier. The contribution of Harnack's *Chronologie* toward bringing back criticism from this delusive by-path was not small. Benefits even greater may be expected from the restoration of clarity and well-founded confidence on questions of Synoptic datings; for of late these have been reduced to greater confusion and uncertainty than ever.

Questions of structure and composition are inseparable from the question of date. Fortunately great progress can here be recorded. French study of the *Procédés de Redaction des trois premiers*

Evangélistes was evinced in the useful volume published in 1908 under this title by F. Nicolardot, supplementing the more extensive work of Loisy. But German scholars were as usual the leaders in this close and microscopic analysis. Already in 1908 G. H. Müller had published an "Enquiry into the Technique of Luke and Matthew and their Sources" under the title *Zur Synopse.* In 1913 Walther Haupt contributed a volume entitled *Worte Jesu und Gemeindeüberlieferung,* an "Enquiry into the History of the Synoptic Sources." Martin Dibelius subsequently covered a similar field with his *Formgeschichte des Evangeliums.* But the most systematic presentation of precisely the line of study which now concerns us was that of K. L. Schmidt in 1919, entitled *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu.* The veteran Rudolf Bultmann in 1921 sums up the results of the application by this school of what has been designated *Die Formgeschichtliche Methode* in a volume entitled *Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition.* We are leaving behind us the notion of a Mark composed by dictation of Peter, and beginning to apply the methods applied by the archaeologist to the tangled masses of masonry, one layer superimposed upon or incorporating another, which he encounters in his excavations.

The careful reader cannot fail to remark in the present volume a regrettable absence of use of some of the kindred studies just mentioned, a lack in part accounted for by the disruption of scientific coöperation occasioned by the war, in part by the delay which has intervened between the completion of the manuscript and its publication. References to the more recent volumes cited are therefore few, and usually in the form of footnotes attached after completion of the text. A certain compensation for this disuse of contemporary research may perhaps be found in the fact of many coincidences of judgment between independent students. For independence on the part of the present writer will be readily perceived from the fact that the volume already referred to, published in 1909 under the title *Beginnings of Gospel Story,* exhibits in outline all the main features of the present study of "the Sources and Structure of the Gospel." Independence on the part of the German contributors is self-evident.

The recent appearance of M. Werner's important study entitled *Der Einfluss paulinischer Theologie im Markusevangelium* (1923) must excuse a degree of attention, perhaps too slight, given to an argument in opposition to that herein advanced. On the other hand further delay in publication might have enabled the writer to win additional support from studies such as B. H. Streeter's *Four Gos-*

pels (1925), E. T. Merrill's *Essays in Early Christian History* (1924), D. W. Riddle's article "The Martyr-motif in Mark" in the *Journal of Religion* for July, 1924, and especially the series of articles now appearing in *The Journal of Theological Studies* by Prof. C. H. Turner on "The Markan Use of Language." The task of adjustment, correction, improvement, entailed by further study of these kindred (and for the most part corroboratory) researches, will fall now to the reader. It rests thus with the court of last resort. If the present volume has contributed anything to the truth let it prosper and prevail; if it champions errors servants of the truth who expose and refute them will render a welcome service to

THE AUTHOR.

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PART I

INTRODUCTORY. OPINIONS HANDED DOWN

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY. NATURE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM OF DATE

After a century of discussion gospel critics have arrived at one fixed point of agreement, the priority of Mark. All conceivable theories to account for the mingled resemblances and diversities of the three Synoptic evangelists have been tried out, leaving as the accepted solution the employment of Mark by Matthew and Luke,[1] whether (as the great majority believe) independently, or (as a few maintain) in some sort of limited interrelation.[2] This, of course, makes the question of date for the Church's record of the life and work of Jesus hang upon Mark.

We have no evidence for the currency of Matthew earlier than 100. Indisputable employments of it begin with Ignatius, *ca.* 112, though without mention of the source, and not in a way to suggest that Ignatius supposed himself to be citing words of apostolic authority. Indisputable employments of Luke begin with Basilides and Marcion, *ca.* 135-140; but again without any intimation of authorship or authority. To both Basilides and Marcion, Luke is simply τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, "the" Gospel. Mark's story of Jesus' career is laid down by both these fuller Gospels as a fundamental outline, a phenomenon not easy to account for unless Mark had already obtained widespread recognition and standing. The currency of Matthew and Luke who thus employ Mark being therefore distinctly traceable back to the early decades of the second century, it is no longer possible to think of Mark as a second-century work. It had already obtained circulation in both East and West among the churches, and had even attained to a certain measure of quasi-canonical authority when Luke and Matthew were written. Had this not been the case the practical limitation of all forms of gospel story to the outline of Mark, not only as respects contents, but even as to order, would be unaccountable. So far as the Church of the

[1] The names "Matthew," "Mark," "Luke," are used traditionally, without prejudice to questions of authorship.

[2] The above was written previous to the appearance of the attempt of H. G. Jameson (*Origin of the Synoptic Gospels*, Oxford, 1922) to revive the theory of the priority of Matthew favored by the Tübingen School. Mr. Jameson's arguments should perhaps be mentioned but do not seem to call for reply.

second century possessed a historical account of the ministry it was Mark's. The dating of evangelic tradition, at least in the form of a consecutive account of the sayings and doings of Jesus, is therefore for us a question of the date of Mark.

Although among extant works Mark constitutes "The Beginnings of Gospel Story,"[3] it may well be that earlier compositions of similar character once existed, since this same Gospel shows evidence of familiarity with preëxisting documents. Among the rest it seems to presuppose some form of what is now designated the "Second Source," or by some improperly Q, a symbol which should be reserved for certain material which critics for reasons of their own convenience find most easily traceable to it. The narrative element of this source is rated much higher by the present writer than by certain critics who think of it as a mere compilation of "sacred precepts" (λόγια), erroneously applying to it utterances of Papias regarding our own Gospel of Matthew. But the Second Source, whatever its character, belongs not among extant documents, but among pre-canonical compilations, and therefore falls outside our present consideration. We may also disregard the "many narratives" (διηγήσεις) of Lk. 1:1, no longer existent. Among extant Gospels Mark is now admitted to have the priority. It marks the beginning of this type of composition so far as our direct knowledge goes. It was certainly an "epoch-making" book.

Apart from the manifest desirability of bringing the extant records of the sayings and doings of Jesus into as close a relation to the events themselves as trustworthy history will admit, it is a matter of no small consequence to the interpreter and the historian to fix the date of this epoch of the composition of "gospels." If the great missionary age of the spread of Christianity, at least its spread in Greek-speaking territory, is better represented by the Pauline Epistles and later writings akin to these Epistles, than by compilations of the sayings and doings of Jesus, then the history of Christianity must be understood one way. It will have been preeminently a gospel "about" Jesus, or, as Paul calls it, "the word of the cross." After acceptance of the glad tidings of salvation through the risen Christ proclaimed by apostles, converts will have been more fully instructed by evangelists and teachers in the moral and religious implications of a walk "after the Spirit of Jesus." Gospel first, law afterward. If, on the contrary, the work of an apostle of Christ consisted, as the anti-Pauline writer of *Clementine Homilies,* XVII, xix, maintains, in "proclaiming his utterances"

[3] A work of this title was published in 1909 through the Yale University Press. It is referred to hereinafter as "the Commentary."

and "interpreting his sayings," then the missionary message will have been primarily the gospel "of" Jesus, reported by those who had "companied with him."

The latter view was evidently maintained by those who at a later date exalted the authority of Peter above that of Paul. Paul, and even Peter himself (if we are to judge by the only writing which has a plausible claim to emanate from Peter's own dictation, the so-called First Epistle of Peter), conceive the apostolic message to be the work of God in Christ, more particularly the story of the cross and resurrection. Its content may be judged by the sketch in Phil. 2:5-9, based on Is. 52:13—53:12. If anything is strikingly characteristic of the Epistles, especially those of earlier date, it is the extraordinary indifference of their authors to the sayings and doings of Jesus. They imply a doctrine of the Servant exalted after a ministry of obedience and suffering, but have not so much as a single allusion to any of Jesus' mighty works, and at most a bare half-dozen incidental references to his teachings.

Here, then, is a deep difference of view concerning the nature of the gospel message. And this difference is by no means a mere development of second-century conflict in the Church. For, the epistolary literature, beginning with the great Pauline Epistles, the earliest of which may be dated with considerable precision in 50 A.D., is all of one type in this respect. In language it is entirely Greek, being addressed to the churches of the Greek-speaking world, principally in Paul's mission field. Its early date cannot be questioned, but it depends for its apostolic authority on Paul (for even First Peter is scarcely more than a transcript of Pauline teaching). And Paul had strong reasons for minimizing the importance of the gospel "of" Jesus in comparison with the gospel "about" Jesus. In Paul's own phraseology his message told what had been done by God through the agency of Christ in restoring the world to His favor.

Significantly enough, even the narrative literature of the Gospels in its beginnings is strictly limited to the work of the Servant. It does not attempt a life of Jesus, but only tells of the ministry. In its present Greek form it is comparatively late; but our canonical Greek Gospels unquestionably rest upon Aramaic sources. These may well antedate even in written form some or all of the Epistles, and in the form of oral tradition the story must have been derived in considerable part from eye- and ear-witnesses of the Lord. One would think the evangelists, even including the fourth, had made Aramaic derivation a test of admitting material relating to the ministry. Only a small portion, Acts 15:36—28:31, has a purely

Greek basis; and this Greek basis of Second Acts[4] is not concerned with the story of Jesus, but consists of the travel-diary of a companion of Paul during the last years of his ministry, attached by the compiler of the double work Luke-Acts as a supplement to his Aramaic tradition. The care with which this compiler has retained the peculiarities of language of the "We-document" enables us to isolate it, and thus identify a Greek narrative actually datable *ca.* 49-61 A.D. In this exceptional case a Greek document appears among the narrative sources. Our ability to identify it through Luke's retention in it of the first person plural may perhaps justify its being called the oldest. This, however, is mere accident. All the remainder of Luke's sources, including even the body of the narrative to which the "We-document" (in elaborated form) is appended, is of Aramaic derivation. At least the basic elements must in some form antedate even the earliest of the extant Epistles of Paul. The "We-document" is concerned only with later events. Gospel story, in both its elements, "sayings" and "doings" of the Lord, is an Aramaic product. The language shows that it did not grow up in Pauline territory.

We must do justice to both conceptions of the gospel message. The narrative books, beginning with Mark, naturally attach great importance to the record of the sayings and doings. They have a twofold object: (1) to "teach all men everywhere to observe all things whatsoever [Jesus] commanded" (Mt. 28:20), or (2) to "draw up a narrative of all things which Jesus began both to say and to do," that the reader may "know the certainty of the things wherein he has been catechized" (Lk. 1:1-4; Acts 1:1). Beyond this special distinction appears, however, a higher object. Whether it be the fourth evangelist or the second "these things are written that [the reader] may believe that Jesus is the Christ." There *was,* then, a tradition of the sayings and doings of Jesus. According to the later evangelists it was a very copious one (Lk. 1:1; Jn. 20:30; 21:25). Philological evidences prove to us that it circulated first in the Aramaic language, our own Gospels being simply translations either of earlier gospels or earlier gospel materials. In last resort it was, in some of its more primitive elements, the oral or written deliverance of actual eye-witnesses.

The "We-document" is admittedly an identifiable, datable work. This was Greek, and sub-apostolic. In spite of the freak criticism which denies the very existence of Jesus as a historical character, we must also assume the currency of Aramaic documents under-

[4] An expression coined by Professor Torrey for the Pauline half of the book (Acts 15:36—28:31).

lying our Gospels. This is a positive result of the critical comparison of the Pauline references with the internal evidence of Mark. Jesus did really live and die among the people whom Paul personally knew. We certainly have elements of authentic Petrine narrative in the Gospels. There was, from the very earliest times, an oral tradition of Jesus' sayings and doings. This tradition did secure embodiment in written form while still circulating among Aramaic-speaking Christians. It carried the story down at least to the proclamation of the gospel to the Gentiles. These facts lend a certain support to the contention of the advocates of the gospel *of* Jesus as the essential apostolic message. Nevertheless we cannot do justice to Paul, or to the testimony of Peter as cited by Paul, or as represented in First Peter, without recognizing that the primary and missionary gospel was "the word of the cross," and that the age of composition of gospels such as the canonical was secondary.

Impartial consideration for both aspects of the question compels us to recognize that the two conceptions of what constituted the gospel message persisted for no little time side by side. The Aramaic-speaking branch of the Church, less affected by Pauline influences, paid greater attention to the preservation and development of the sacred tradition. The Greek-speaking churches, largely Gentile foundations tracing their origin to Paul and Paul's disciples, were more concerned with the gospel "about" Jesus. Neither party took an exclusive attitude toward the other. The Aramaic tradition, especially in the form it assumes in Mark, has been profoundly affected by Pauline doctrinal tenets. We need only compare the Prologue (Mk. 1:1-13) with Col. 1:13-19, or the doctrine of the hiding of the Mystery of the Kingdom (Mk. 4:11 f., etc.), with the Pauline doctrine of the Hardening of Israel (Rom. 9-11), to realize how the whole substance of the Petrine tradition was impregnated with this Pauline doctrinal interpretation. And what occurs sporadically in the synoptic tradition is carried through systematically in John. But if the Aramaic-speaking churches had need of Paul's theology the Greek-speaking churches had greater need of the Aramaic records. If they were not to be swept completely off their feet after the death of Paul by Gnostic speculation, they were compelled, in the words of Polycarp, to "turn to the tradition handed down from the very first." Hence as a first step, translation into Greek of Synoptic story, in primary (Markan) and secondary (Matthean and Lukan) form. The Pastoral Epistles already entrench themselves against the inroads of heresy by appeal to "the health-giving words, even the words of the Lord Jesus"

(I Tim. 6:3). Ultimately, at Ephesus, we get the fully Paulinized theological or 'spiritual' Gospel of John, resolving differences into higher unity.

There was also infiltration on both sides. But the two streams, Aramaic and Greek, the gospel of Jesus and the gospel about Jesus, are separate in origin. It is only in a loose and general sense that one can be said to antedate the other. If we are speaking of the Aramaic traditions, partly oral, partly written, out of which our Greek Gospels have been formed, they must have been in circulation in Syria before the foundation of the greater Pauline churches. If we are speaking of the extant Greek literature known to us through the four canonical Gospels, both ancient tradition and modern criticism unite to declare it a product of the post-Pauline age.

Eusebius in his *Church History* (III, xxxvii) speaks of an age of propaganda by means of written gospels in the early decades of the second century, mentioning Clement, Ignatius, and Quadratus as its leaders. Such men, he declares,

> starting out upon long journeys performed the office of evangelists, being filled with the desire to preach Christ to those who had not yet heard the word of faith, *and to deliver to them the divine Gospel.*

All that is here implied is the dissemination of our own canonical Gospels, supposed by Eusebius to have been composed before the death of the Apostles, but he is certainly correct in fixing the date 95-125 as that of their dissemination in written form. Had even the earliest of them been current to any considerable extent in the age of Paul the epistolary literature would not be so destitute of any intimation of their existence, and so unbeholden to any form of gospel story. It does not even occur to Paul that he has any commission to relate the life and teachings of Jesus. It does not seem to have entered the mind of any of those who at a later time address the churches in the Greek language. Only the Synoptic writers, who take their cue from Mark, and to some extent the Ephesian evangelist who presupposes their work,[5] take an interest in preserving the story. All of these depend exclusively on sources which come directly or indirectly from the Aramaic, and are limited to the single brief period of Jesus' career. The exceptions only make the rule more conspicuous. What Matthew and Luke have to add concerning the birth and infancy of Jesus is so irreconcilable in content

[5] Even the fourth evangelist is denied by Garvie (*The Beloved Disciple*, 1923) to show acquaintance with the Synoptic Gospels. A "Redactor" has supplemented from them.

and so extremely meagre in amount as to confirm in the strongest way the many other evidences that the tradition as first formed had reference only to the public career of Jesus, "beginning with the baptism of John." Pseudo-gospels of the later times, such as the *Protevangelium Jacobi,* do not venture to intrude upon the scenes thus canonized, but follow Matthew and Luke in limiting their supplements to the period of the infancy.

The establishment of the priority of Mark shows that the process of gospel writing began as an attempt to prove the Church's claims of a divine mission for its Founder by anecdotes of his sayings and doings during the brief period between the baptism of John and the crucifixion. The ministry in Galilee and the appeal to Jerusalem which had led Jesus to his martyrdom were a necessary historical prelude to the story of the cross and resurrection. It was only later that the need was felt to supplement this Petrine record with large extracts from another source (or sources), wherein the content of Jesus' teaching came much more into the foreground. The neglect of this teaching material, much of which must have been known to Mark whether as incorporated in the Second Source or otherwise, can be explained only by diversity of interest. It was not from ignorance, and certainly not through tacit dependence on other writers, that Mark omitted the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer.

The writer of the Second Source (which we have no ground whatever for regarding as the work of an Apostle, and very strong reasons for regarding as unapostolic) has motives quite different from Mark's, and uses his material in a different way. To him Jesus is the incarnate Wisdom of God, sent forth to win back an erring people. He is rejected, ill treated, but destined to return to those who have received him, who, whether Jews or Gentiles, will receive the right to be called the children of God.

In this conception as well as in Mark's the martyrdom of Jesus plays a part. It is the prelude to his world-wide reign. But much more emphasis falls upon the message and teaching of the Servant, because the Reconciliation with God, which with both evangelists is the end in view, is for the Second Source a matter of repentance, faith, and obedience. According to the Second Source the receptive hearer becomes one of "Wisdom's children." According to Mark eternal life is to be won solely by following Jesus in the path of martyrdom (Mk. 10:17-22). One may not literally have to be baptized with his baptism and drink his cup; but one must put his life in pledge. "He that would save his life will lose it." Only he who is ready to lose his life for Christ's sake and the gospel's can expect

to save it unto life eternal. With this wide difference between Mark and the Teaching Source in their respective conceptions of the message, it is not surprising that Mark should select his material mainly to illustrate the saving work of the crucified Redeemer, and the writer of the Second Source expatiate on the teaching, using the slenderest possible thread of narrative to suspend upon it successive discourses in which Jesus, as mouthpiece of "the Wisdom of God," sets forth the essential principles of true religion. As respects the content of the message Mark is much more of a Paulinist, though he avails himself of Petrine tradition.

The later Synoptists, Matthew and Luke, have very diverse methods of combining the teaching material of the Second Source with the story of Mark; but neither shows a disposition to depose in its favor the ancient Petrine tradition, in its Markan embodiment, even as respects "order." The Second Source was probably older, and in some respects certainly more authentic than Mark. But it cannot have enjoyed equal prestige. Matthew uses it as a quarry from which to extract "commandments." His Gospel aims to "teach all men everywhere to observe all things whatsoever Jesus commanded." To this end he constructs his work on the model of the Torah, with its five codes in the form of discourses of Moses, framed in by narrative introductions. On this plan Matthew brings in (after a Prologue devoted to the Infancy) first (Mk. 3:1—4:25), a description of the beginnings at the Baptism of John and in Galilee, introducing what we call the Sermon on the Mount (5:1—7:27), for Matthew the Duties of the Disciple. The end of this first division of Matthew is marked by a stereotyped colophon (7:28). The phrase actually appeared in this same form and in this same position in the Second Source, as we see by comparing Lk. 7:1 (β text). Matthew makes it also serve a similar purpose at the close of each of the remaining discourses, on Duties of the Evangelist (ch. 10), Parables of the Kingdom (13:1-52), Duties of Church Rulers (ch. 18), and Eschatology (chh. 23-25). In Mt. 26:1, however, it leads over to a narrative Epilogue bringing the entire Gospel to a close.

Luke's method of employment of the Discourses is quite different. As we might expect from one whose object is to "draw up a narrative in order" he has interjected the Q material in the form of addresses on various occasions, doubtless preserving original data. Nevertheless Luke has not hesitated to break up completely the order of this source. He follows almost slavishly the order of Mark, though not for lack of other narratives (διηγήσεις). His story of the passion and the resurrection even sets aside that of Mark for the

major part of the material in favor of a Special Source, little (if at all) employed by Matthew. The relation of this Lukan Special Source to Q and Mark is still problematic. Whether the non-Markan narrative material peculiar to Luke was also found in the Second Source, and was omitted by Matthew because not acceptable, or whether this represents a third element known only to Luke, is a moot-point of criticism. This, however, is a matter of importance. The "order" of the story of Jesus was a matter of concern to Luke (Lk. 1:3). It became a matter of still greater concern in the latter part of the second century, when supporters of the Fourth Gospel were meeting resistance to its admission to the Canon.[6] But the "order" of Mark was admitted to be πρὸς τὰς χρείας. That of Matthew is certainly artificial, never coinciding with Luke in its departures from Mark. Luke's own departures from the order of Mark are extremely rare, and easily accounted for as conjectural. The Johannine order is certainly not more authentic. These phenomena could hardly obtrude themselves so conspicuously if the Second, or any other early source, had furnished data comparable to Mark's. Accounts of the ministry, or of incidents in it (διηγήσεις) were early current in considerable numbers (Lk. 1:1). If the order of Mark, in spite of its admitted unreliability (and the ancient tradition to the fact is no more than could have been inferred from the very structure and nature of the work), obtained a practically unrivalled predominance, no other narrative can have been known from which a more historical sequence could be derived on first-hand, or apostolic authority. Gospel *material,* then, must have existed from a very early date. *Gospels,* of the type known to us, begin with Mark. The conformation of all subsequent gospels to Mark in respect to the narrative outline and choice of material, yes, even as respects order, in spite of the known deficiencies of Mark on this score, is sufficient proof of the fact. The Fourth Gospel is to some extent an exception. But the very character of the exception, and the startling contrast produced by it, make the general conformation to Mark more noticeable. "Synoptic tradition" means Mark, plus some supplements, the most important of which are the teaching materials derived from the Second Source.[7]

[6] *Muratorianum* line 34 "per ordinem."

[7] Much needless confusion will be avoided if the reader will accustom himself to distinguish between Q, a mere symbol for the double tradition material, and the 'Second Source' from which most (though perhaps not all) of this Q material was derived, containing also other material not as yet defined. Some Second Source material commonly designated Q, such as the Blasphemy of the Scribes, is found in Mark also (Mk. 3:22-30=Mt. 12:22 ff.=Lk. 11:14 ff.).

Questions as to the origin, nature, purpose, source, and historical reliability of Mark assume therefore an altogether unique importance for the historian. More particularly its date, whether as a whole, or as respects the various elements employed, is a matter of great concern. We have seen that this question has a bearing on the very nature of Christianity considered as the message committed to the Apostles; whether they were sent to proclaim the pure religion taught by Jesus, or the work of Reconciliation effected by God through Jesus. It is easily apparent also that it has a very direct bearing on the general trustworthiness of the Church's record of the sayings and doings of the Lord. When and where was this compilation brought out? To what extent is the tradition reliable which calls it "Reminiscences (of the Preaching) of Peter"? Are we justified in accepting the primitive tradition which ascribes it to Mark, a follower of Paul in his later life, though in his youth associated with Peter, and possibly also after the death of Paul? To what extent was Mark responsible for the contents? Does "according to" (κατά) mean only "as Mark used to preach it," or "as Mark wrote it"? Was it produced at Rome after the death of Peter and Paul, as some second-century advocates declare? Whence was its material drawn, and why does it show everywhere the marks of derivation from Aramaic documents? Why is it (in the oldest form accessible to us) a mere torso, its proper conclusion either wanting entirely, or replaced by editorial conclusions compiled or manufactured for the purpose? Why has it duplicate forms of the same essential story, and why do so many marks of editorial rearrangement and explanatory supplement remain?

All of these questions are vital to a truly historical judgment of gospel story; because gospel story, though by no means at its beginning, comes first within our ken in Mark. To some of these questions an answer has been already attempted in Vol. VII of the *Harvard Theological Studies* entitled "Is Mark a Roman Gospel?" The most vital still remain—the questions of date and composition. To know the period within which the compilation itself was formed is to hold the key to its character and purpose, especially if we are also reliably informed concerning the geographical milieu. If in addition we can make some estimate of the interval between the oral and the written form of some of these preachers' anecdotes, and the further lapse of time between particular anecdotes and the present compilation, the process will be like the application of the stereoscopic lens to a photograph. Instead of all features resting in one unbroken plane there will be perspective. Foreground and background will be distinguishable. Nothing will be discarded, for criti-

cism no more destroys the material it works upon than the diffraction grating destroys the sunbeam it separates into rainbow tints. Dark lines will appear, marking the absorption of certain rays by passage through various media on their way to the eye. These may be called, if one will, defects of the beam. But he who traces them out is not concerned to find imperfections in the ray of sunlight, but to use the shadows for what they can reveal. The spectrum might be more beautiful without the Fraunhofer lines. But it would reveal far less. In like manner those minute defects which criticism discovers in the gospel record are the most serviceable of all its elements to the student of its transmission. If his attention seems to be concentrated upon them it is only as the student of stellar physics concentrates his attention upon the dark bands of the spectrum. The dark bands are isolated and brought into the foreground for study. For the time being the red and gold and violet may seem to suffer neglect. But these have to await their turn. The sunbeam loses none of its value or beauty for the world in revealing to the scholar the media through which it has passed.

CHAPTER II

ACCEPTED DATES AND THE CHALLENGE OF HARNACK

Until quite recently the views of critics even of widely different theological schools were fairly agreed as to the period of the Synoptic writings. Admitting the priority of Mark all attempts of extremists such as Baur, Keim, and Köstlin to date this Gospel after the beginning of the second century were negatived. Use by Matthew and Luke implied a first-century date for Mark. Even if the two later Synoptists were dated (as by some critics) so late as 110-115, it was necessary to suppose that Mark antedated them by at least a decade. Some found evidence in Luke-Acts of acquaintance with the writings of Josephus and therefore placed the Lukan writings as late as *ca.* 100-105. Others, less convinced of Luke's alleged employment of Josephus, dated his work from one to two decades earlier. Matthew was usually placed earlier than Luke, but the two Gospels are commonly acknowledged to be mutually independent. Stanton[1] justly argues that if so we must date them at about the same period. He even seems ready to endorse the verdict of Pfleiderer making Matthew later than Luke. Thus criticism and tradition came into conflict. On the one hand employment of Mark by Matthew and Luke was admitted. On the other hand stood the positive statement of Irenaeus, undoubtedly based on the written testimony of Papias (140-150), that

> Matthew, among the Hebrews, published a Gospel written in their own language, at the time when Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the church in Rome. But after the death (ἔξοδος) of these Mark also, who had been a disciple and interpreter of Peter, transmitted in writing the things which Peter had preached (*Haer.* III, i).

Primitive tradition on the one side, unquestioned employment by Matthew and Luke on the other, thus seemed to leave open for the date of Mark only the last third of the first century. It was written "after the death" of Peter and Paul. It was current before Matthew and Luke, at least one of which must be dated earlier than 100. Mark was therefore commonly dated in 66 to 90. But for the majority of critics the internal evidence of this Gospel seemed to

[1] *Gospels as Historical Documents,* Vol. II, p. 368.

contribute one decisive argument compelling the adoption of a date but little later than the earlier extreme of these limits. The chapter on the Doom of Jerusalem and Final Judgment (Mk. 13) was generally regarded as implying a date before the overthrow of the city in 70 A.D. If so, it was barely possible to find room for the composition of the Gospel between the death of the Apostles under Nero, after the conflagration in 64 with the resultant outbreak of the great Neronic persecution, and the closing scenes of the Jewish war. We may take the confident statement of E. P. Gould in his volume on Mark in the *International Critical Commentary* (1896, p. xvii) as typical of this combination of ancient tradition with modern inference from the internal evidence:

> Tradition says that it was written after the death of Peter and Paul. There is one decisive mark of time in the Gospel itself. In the eschatological discourse attention is called to the sign given by Jesus of the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, which leads us to infer that the Gospel was written before that time, but when the event was impending. This would fix the time as about 70 A.D.

We shall have occasion later to examine the tradition as regards its original form, meaning, and value. We shall also find it needful to reëxamine the inference from the Eschatological Discourse, alleged to furnish the "one decisive mark of time in the Gospel itself." For the present it will suffice to point out how nearly all dates fixed by critics for the origin of Mark (and since the admission of Mark's priority by consequence for its satellites also) were determined by these two main considerations. Certainly the limits thus fixed left nothing to be desired in the way of precision. If Mark sat down to write without any delay after the death of the Apostles, which Irenaeus, like Dionysius of Corinth and the rest of the early witnesses must have dated "at the same season" (*πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν*), in the closing years of Nero (66-68), he would barely have had time to finish before the news of the great catastrophe in Judea in August, 70, would have reached him.

Such narrow limits did indeed seem somewhat precarious. There were those on the one hand who doubted the testimony of Irenaeus. These carried back the date of the Gospel into the lifetime of Peter and Paul, and easily obtained the suffrage of the conservative majority. On the other hand a few of the bolder critics, such as Volkmar, rejected the inference from the Eschatological Discourse, dating the Gospel in 73 or later. Most writers, however, were content to regard the deaths of Peter and Paul on the one side and the fall of Jerusalem on the other as the limits within which the epoch-making book must have appeared.

The comparative unanimity which formerly prevailed concerning Synoptic literature, or Mark and its satellites, has of late been rudely broken. We may no longer assume the Pauline Epistles to be typical of the missionary age of the Church and antecedent to the Gospels. The assertion is now made that the Synoptic Gospels themselves, or at least those which bear the names of Mark and Luke, and not merely their Aramaic sources, fall well within the lifetime of Paul. The fulcrum of this overturn in critical opinion is found in the so-called "We-document," the travel-diary of a companion of Paul embedded in the later chapters of Acts. The writing of this diary was clearly earlier than the death of Paul. If it could be shown that the author of the present Book of Acts was the Diarist himself, if in addition it could further be taken as the explanation of his omission of any reference to the death of Paul, that Acts as a whole was composed before the martyrdom, including chapters 1-15, which seem to be based upon Aramaic sources, then not only "First Acts," but the "former treatise" to which its author refers (Acts 1:1), must be of even more primitive date. Moreover we must go still further back for the origin of Mark, whose employment by the author of the "former treatise" admits of no question.

Such is actually the argument of Harnack, the great church historian of our time. The chain of reasoning may seem precarious, since it involves at least two assumptions not easily established: (a) that the author of the whole work Luke-Acts was the Diarist himself; (b) that he did not merely use these extracts at a later date as material for his story of Paul's career, but made his elaboration almost at once after the period of "two years" of Paul's imprisonment at Rome, which is the latest chronological reference of the story. The assumptions are far from cogent. Nevertheless no small number of scholars have professed adherence to the new datings. The number includes not apologists only, such as have at all times sought to minimize the possibility of legendary developments by bringing the record under apostolic supervision and as near as possible to the events. It includes also a group of scholars with whom the evidences of translation from Aramaic sources carry great weight. Among these may be mentioned Prof. W. C. Allen, who, in his article "Matthew, Gospel of" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Apostolic Age,* adopts a very early date for these writings. More especially we should name Prof. C. C. Torrey of Yale, who advocates a date for Mark in almost its present form, though in the Aramaic language, not later than 40 A.D.

In the case of these scholars there is no disposition to deny the

presence of legendary accretion. Professor Torrey in particular is careful to point out how easily testimony of this kind becomes saturated with prodigy and marvel within a very brief interval. But the philologians minimize the evidences adduced by the historical critics. They leave little or no room for literary development in the writings as we have them between the time of their first assumption of written form and their incorporation in a complete Gospel. The philologians insist that the Aramaic originals were scarcely distinguishable from our own texts save in the superficial difference of language. Consequently they regard every indication of early date in any part of the material as equally applicable to the whole.

Exactitude, in the sense of determination of the precise year in which the Gospel of Mark in its present form was given out to the churches after the slow process of shaping and gathering its constituent elements was completed, is probably unattainable. Fortunately it is not vitally essential. Reasonable certitude, in the sense of the fixation of limits not too far apart between which it must have appeared, is a matter of grave importance to every serious student of Christian origins. This reasonable certitude we believe to be attainable. The price to be paid is careful, impartial scrutiny of all the evidence available. Great patience will be required, and great nicety of historical judgment. But these are readily forthcoming where other scientific problems are concerned. There is no reason to suppose they will be found wanting in behalf of a problem involving the beginnings of the Christian faith.

Constructive criticism, by which we mean the attempt to attach the New Testament writings to their true historical background, begins with the effort of the founder of church history of the modern type, Ferdinand Christian Baur, to lay a secure foundation in the authentic and datable Epistles of Paul, leaving the anonymous and less easily datable narrative books to find their true environment in the history as it can be derived from the Epistles. A similar process applied to Old Testament literature has yielded since Baur's time results of very great importance. Beginning with the datable and acknowledged writings of the Prophets it has become possible to disentangle the complex strands of the narrative books, until we at last possess a relatively critical and scientific conception of Israel's development. The Old Testament as a whole has thus gained enormously in significance, most of all the narrative books themselves. It is natural to assume that a similar procedure in the New Testament, advancing from the relatively known to the

unknown, would yield similar results. The historian should start with the primitive datable and indisputably authentic documents.

Unfortunately Baur and the Tübingen School were unguarded in their inferences from Paul. Later study has made clear that the process of development down to the institutions and doctrine of the Great Church of the latter half of the second century, which comes into full view as we reach the writings of the apologists and anti-Gnostic writers, was by no means so simple as Baur supposed. Far more was involved than a conflict between the progressive Gentile Christianity represented by Paul, and the conservative Jewish type represented by Peter. The process involved more than a Hegelian resolution of thesis and antithesis into the higher synthesis of catholic unity. The Petro-Pauline controversy over the conditions of Gentile participation, which our Book of Acts intends to set forth, though without the admission of any difference between the Apostles, really did come to an end in the period covered by Luke's story. The later Epistles of Paul, admitted by Marcion, but rejected by Baur because of their preoccupation with another issue, the battle against incipient Gnosticism, are genuine. Moreover Baur's attempt to find in the narrative books and the Revelation of John reflections of the Petro-Pauline conflict has broken down. His interpretations proved to be subjective and fanciful, and his inferences from them were hopelessly refuted by discoveries of new documents proving his dates in most cases far too late. Under pressure from Ritschl, Baur's own disciples were the first to recede from his extreme positions, admitting the authenticity of First Thessalonians, Philippians, and Colossians, and abandoning the early date for Revelation. Hilgenfeld was probably the last to cling to the priority of Matthew. There are certainly none today who maintain the priority of Luke to Mark.

The greatest of the successors of Ritschl was Harnack. In his monumental work *Die Chronologie der Altchristlichen Literatur,* 1897, the whole problem of dates was worked over again on new principles, the author adopting as his starting point 93 A.D. for the Revelation of John, a date firmly fixed by ancient tradition. The dates established in this work by Harnack are those most widely accepted today. Indeed, Harnack's war-cry in this onslaught on the Tübingen datings has become famous from the use (and misuse) made of it since the day it appeared in the Preface to the *Chronologie.* Against Baur's sweeping disregard for ancient testimony, leading him to reject such emphatic and definite declarations as those of the ancients regarding Revelation in favor of his own inferences from the contents, Harnack urged critics to go "back to

tradition," not meaning traditional teaching of the eighteenth or nineteenth, but that of the second century. Every word from those living within the period when the echoes of actual knowledge could be supposed to be not yet wholly silenced should be weighed by the critic before attempting conjectures of his own. But the last word remains as before with the critic, not with the mere champion of tradition.

The reaction against Tübingen subjectivity was sane and timely. As already stated, the main results of this reaction have been accepted with extraordinary unanimity. Harnack's dates for the Gospels, as determined in the *Chronologie* were: Mark "probably 65-70," Matthew (except some later supplements) 70-75, Luke-Acts 78-93. These dates are still the most widely accepted among scholars. They manifestly rest upon an attempt to deal impartially with primitive tradition on the one side, internal evidence on the other. Harnack was far from claiming finality in weighing the evidence. But the method was firmly defined and consistently applied. There were to be no more of the extravagances of *tendenz-kritik*. The period 65-93 for the Synoptic writings seemed to meet general acquiescence.

In all this there was no repudiation of the deepest principle of all, the truly basic contribution of Baur to constructive criticism, procedure from the known to the unknown by making the greater Pauline Epistles the point of departure. But Harnack's reaction against *tendenz-kritik* was to carry him much further. Beginning with *Lukas der Arzt* (1905), an attempt to show the validity of the argument of Hobart for "The Medical Language of St. Luke," and of Sir John C. Hawkins and others for uniformity of vocabulary and style throughout the Lukan writings, Harnack brought out a series of *Contributions to New Testament Introduction*, which approached the problem from a point of view opposite to Baur's. Instead of beginning with the Pauline Epistles, these *Contributions*[2] made the principal narrative source, Luke-Acts, the point of departure. Harnack now believed it possible so far to vindicate the ancient tradition regarding "Luke the Physician" by means of philology as to correct what he regarded as the one-sided and exaggerated representations of Paul by means of a contemporary narrative. Luke gave an authentic and original account. He had faults of credulity and laxity, but real *tendenz* was more justly to be ascribed to Paul of the two. Thus, for Harnack, the true line of approach to the origins was no longer through the acknowledged

[2] The series will hereinafter be referred to by number as *Contributions*, I, II, III, etc., using, where possible, the English translation.

Epistles, but through documents whose validity rested upon the critic's own powers of reasoning. After some wavering Harnack at last took the plunge of declaring the entire work of Luke earlier than the death of Paul, thus carrying back to a pre-Pauline date both the "former treatise" for Theophilus and its sources, the Gospel of Mark and the Second Source, if not the Gospel of Matthew also. Synoptic literature in its present form would thus become a product of the apostolic age.

It may well be questioned whether the cry "Back to Tradition" has not here carried its champion beyond the goal. It was well to rebuke the subjectivity of Tübingen by insisting on full consideration for the testimony of antiquity before advancing inferences of one's own from the text. But if the reaction be carried to the extent of substituting writings whose historical value rests on a tradition supported only by one's own philological enquiry, in place of documents so unanimously vindicated as the Pauline Epistles, has not subjectivity appeared upon the other side? At least there are many who think the Harnack who tried to hold the balance true between tradition and critical inference in the *Chronologie der Altchristlichen Literatur* was a safer guide than the later Harnack, who under the once victorious cry "Back to Tradition" seeks now to rebuild the things which he once destroyed. For the *Contributions* seek to overthrow not merely the ill-considered applications of critical principles made by Baur and the Tübingen School, but even the results previously arrived at by Harnack himself on these same principles when he sought to do justice both to the claims of ancient testimony and also to modern criticism. Indeed, on the vital point of the date of Mark they squarely oppose the unanimous testimony of ancient tradition.

Whether Harnack and those who follow his leadership in this new dating for the Gospels are correct or not is a matter of no small consequence for our interpretation of the entire movement of thought and life in primitive Christianity. This we have already seen. Some take up the new datings with enthusiasm from the same apologetic motives which actuated the fathers of the third and later centuries in claiming apostolic authorship for all the canonical Gospels at the earliest date made practicable by the accepted statements current in their time. Others receive them with equal enthusiasm because they accord with views of their own regarding the Aramaic sources. Superficial judgments are likely to betray those who rely on them at the very point where danger is least apprehended. The only way in which a scientific and reliable conclusion as to gospel origins can be reached lies through reëxamina-

tion of both kinds of evidence; first, the testimony of the past as apparent (a) in tradition and (b) in its employment of the work in question; second, the internal evidence of the Gospels themselves.

For reasons already stated the primary question is that of the date of Mark. We limit ourselves to this because if Mark was written after the death of Peter and Paul the whole foundation for the dating of Luke and Matthew within the apostolic age collapses. It rested wholly on the plea that the silence of Luke regarding the death of Paul must be due to the early date of Luke-Acts. If Mark, used by Luke as the basic outline of his "former treatise," is post-Pauline, the postulated cause of Luke's silence is not the true one. Fortunately Mark is not only admitted to be earlier in date than Luke or Matthew,[3] but in addition we have much earlier and more reliable testimony regarding its origin than for theirs. We shall give our first attention to this testimony, endeavoring to do it more exact justice than hitherto, by a more careful analysis of its origin and meaning. Afterward we shall turn to the internal evidence of the Gospel, endeavoring here also to make a more just and accurate valuation. Such passages as have been adduced by others as bearing on the question will first be subjected to closer scrutiny. Afterward certain other passages may be adduced which appear to ourselves worthy of consideration on this score, though hitherto (so far as our knowledge extends) neglected.

[3] The exception of Jameson already noted should be borne in mind; also that of the group who follow Zahn in maintaining the priority of an Aramaic Ur-Matthaeus.

CHAPTER III

PRIMITIVE TESTIMONY AND LATER INFERENCE

The case of Mark is entirely unique as regards testimony from the earlier ages. This Gospel was not only earlier in use than any other now extant. It is not only first to be mentioned by name. Definite statements regarding its authorship and date and the trustworthiness of the material are transmitted to us from a period far earlier than in the case of any other. This fact is often overlooked, often misstated. But it is of great importance in more than one respect. To disregard it is to repeat the flagrant error of the Tübingen School with reference to Revelation.

At the very outset the mere uniqueness of the testimony to Mark suggests of itself that this Gospel had in reality that epoch-making significance claimed for it by us on other grounds. Criticism has at last shown that this document took, from a very early date, well within the limits of the first century, a commanding position. Both in the East and West it was treated with extraordinary respect, so much so as to survive and eclipse all other forms of the evangelic story. Such rivals as it once had (*cf.* Lk. 1:1) have almost totally disappeared. Therefore it is only what we should reasonably expect if such tradition as still remains concerning gospel origins should at first be concerned exclusively with the appearance of this book. Papias, the second-century defender of orthodox *Interpretation of the Lord's Precepts*[1] against Gnostic perversion of their historic sense, champion also of strict Palestinian eschatology against Hellenistic denial of the (bodily) resurrection and judgment, transmits to us, in the preface of his work the following early tradition concerning the origin and historical value of Mark. Eusebius makes the extract in his *Church History,* III, xxxix, 15.

This also the Elder (Eusebius has just referred to "traditions of John" cited by Papias) said: "Mark, who had been the interpreter of Peter, wrote

[1] Such was the title of Papias' book. In Greek, as inscribed on the back of the codex, it would appear as Κυριακῶν λογίων ἐξηγήσεως (var. ἐξηγήσεων) ἐ. The term "precepts" (λόγια) is not the title of a book, nor does it refer to Old Testament prophecies, but (as the adjective shows) to the precepts (or "Commandments," ἐντολαί, as Papias also calls them) of Jesus. Polycarp also shows the same equivalence.

down accurately whatever he remembered of things either said or done by Christ, not, however in order. For he was neither a hearer nor a follower of the Lord, but afterward, as I said, he followed Peter, who used to adapt his teachings to (his hearers') needs, not (arranging them) as one who designs to make a compend of the Lord's sayings (or "oracles"). Accordingly Mark was not at fault in thus writing down some things as he recalled them. For he was careful for one thing, not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to state any of them falsely.

Eusebius also reported in the same connection Papias' statement of his own opinion regarding Matthew. Whether this was given in the connection of his statement regarding Mark does not appear, nor does Papias give any ground or authority for his belief.

Matthew, accordingly, wrote (or "compiled") the oracles in the Hebrew language, and every man translated them as he was able.

In the original the two extracts are as follows:

Καὶ τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε· Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων (var. λογίων), ὥστε οὐδὲν ἥμαρτε Μάρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. ἑνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαί τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.

On Matthew:

Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο (var. συνετάξατο), ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δύνατος ἕκαστος.

The case, then, is not, as frequently but mistakenly alleged, that Papias had *two* traditions, the one relating to Matthew, the other to Mark. Concerning Matthew he had no *tradition* whatever to cite, or at least makes no such claim. He seems blandly unconscious of the need. To Papias our first canonical Gospel was simply "The Gospel according to Matthew." The title by which it was commonly known in 150 was the same as today. Earlier, in certain regions where its dominance was undisputed, or where no other could be thought of, we find it quoted simply as "the" Gospel. Where other gospels were present to rival it, distinction was made by adding "according to Matthew." The addition belongs therefore to the later period of this Gospel's larger circulation. Papias makes a *statement* regarding this work; but unfortunately his statement is not referred to any authority, because the need was not felt. Papias (unlike Eusebius) was not engaged in research concerning Gospel origins for the benefit of antiquarians or critics, but merely in defending a certain understanding of disputed "commandments (ἐντολαί) delivered by the Lord to the faith." Because in his time

undisputed apostolic authority was conceded to Matthew, as an authoritative "compend of the Lord's Precepts" (*σύνταξις τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων*), Papias considered it quite needless to defend his use of this Gospel. He therefore limits his statement regarding it to current opinion as expressed in the title "According to Matthew," reserving his appeal to traditional authority for Mark, a source of non-apostolic origin, the use of which might seem on this account to require defence. As regards Matthew he merely offers explanation of the single point on which the "interpretations" (*ἑρμηνείαι*) submitted in his own book might serve as an adjunct even to Matthew's apostolic record. He reminds his readers that even this accepted and authoritative thesaurus of the Precepts had been "compiled (*συνετάξατο*, var. *συνεγράψατο*) in the Hebrew language" (meaning the Aramaic); and that no authoritative translation existed (as in the case of Peter's utterances), so that "every man translated as he was able."

This utterance regarding Matthew, therefore, is not a tradition, like that which Papias quotes from the "Elder" to justify his use of Mark. Still less is it a reference to one of the sources employed by our evangelists, a so-called "Logia" document which critics of the nineteenth century would be glad to see attested by a writer of the second. It is purely and simply a reminder of the nature and history of "the Gospel according to Matthew," given to readers as familiar as ourselves with this standard work. For in 150 A.D. Matthew's Gospel was known throughout the Church. Papias would have it remembered, however, that while Matthew is a "compend of the Lord's precepts" (the phrase *συνετάξατο* should be compared with *σύνταξις* in the parallel remark concerning Peter that he did not utter his discourses as one designing to make "a compend (*σύνταξις*) of the Lord's precepts"), and while of course, as apostolic, it is entirely trustworthy as to order and completeness, nevertheless it exists only in translation, and unauthorized translation at that. This leaves abundant occasion for Papias' own "translations" (*ἑρμηνείαι*), which he fortifies by means of traditions derived by him, directly and indirectly, from "the Elders" who could report utterances of the "disciples of the Lord" (the term "Apostle" would be less appropriate where the transmission of teaching is concerned). These "disciples of the Lord" (not the Elders) include Matthew himself, the author of the Gospel, and John, the author of the Revelation. The names of these two, as sponsors for the two types of teaching defended by Papias, (1) the Commandment and (2) its sanction in the coming Judgment, occur together at the end of Papias' list.

Eusebius, who had promised to give his readers all he could find in the older writers bearing on the origin of the Gospels, could find no *tradition* in Papias, his best authority, concerning the origin of Matthew, but only this *statement.*

Let us repeat, for the issue is important and frequently misunderstood. The work which Papias had undertaken to prepare, and whose occasion and object he is explaining to the unknown patron to whom he addresses his Preface, was an *Interpretation of the Lord's Precepts,* in five "books" (συγγράμματα, perhaps not longer than the modern chapter). On the back of the roll or volume it read κυριακῶν λογίων ἐξηγήσεως (or ἐξηγήσεων)έ. For this unknown patron, and all the rest of Papias' Christian readers, there was not the slightest question where one should go to seek these precepts of the Lord (κυριακὰ λόγια), or (as he had previously called them) "commandments delivered by the Lord to the faith, which are derived from the truth itself." The Apostle Matthew had "compiled" (συνετάξατο) them, as everyone knew. The heretics were wresting them to a false sense, as Polycarp and Irenaeus complain. Papias was not attempting to add to their number. He was merely attempting to defend the proper (that is, the authentically transmitted) interpretation (ἐξήγησις) of them against "those who have so very much to say, and who teach alien (ἀλλοτρίας) commandments."

Let us also repeat that the Gospel of Matthew was not a new or unknown work in Papias' time, such that its use should require explanation or defence. It had been in wide circulation since at least the time of Ignatius (112-115). For more than half a century thereafter it continued to be the primary resort for all church writers whenever they desired to appeal to the Lord's teaching. Both the *Didaché* and Papias' contemporary Justin refer to it as "the" Gospel. Always it is treated in this period as the standard apostolic authority, quotations being seldom if ever made from any other Gospel if Matthew contained equivalent material. When Papias describes it as a "compend of the Lord's precepts" he not only reveals what he and his age were supremely concerned to find, but defines exactly the real character and purpose of our own canonical first Gospel, the very thing which (next to its supposed apostolic authority) gave it unrivalled supremacy in this neo-legalistic age of the Church. Matthew *does* use the Markan outline as a framework for his five bodies of discourse, exactly as the Pentateuch uses the older narrative as a framework for the Mosaic codes. This evangelist *does* understand it as his supreme mission to "teach all men everywhere to observe all things what-

soever I (Jesus) have commanded you'' (28:20). It *is* Matthew's idea of salvation to ''keep the commandments,'' including both the old and the new (19:17-19; *cf.* Mk. 10:17-22). This Gospel *is* a *σύνταξις τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων.* Therefore the assumption that Papias meant some other writing is unwarranted.

But ''Matthew'' was not written by Matthew. Modern critics have convincing reasons for their disbelief in the apostolic authorship of this comparatively late transcript of Mark. But that does not alter the fact that in Papias' time such *was* the belief. It is attested not only by Papias, but by Justin and by the invariable practice in quotation of all their contemporaries. Modern critics have also established the independent use by Matthew and Luke of a non-Markan Second Source. But Papias knows no more of the Second Source than he does of Q. For him, as for his informant ''the Elder,'' the precepts of the Lord (*λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου, κυριακά λόγια*) mean the ''commandments (*ἐντολαί*) delivered by the Lord to the faith,'' as Moses delivered the ten commandments (*τὰ δέκα λόγια*) to Israel. They were delivered from heaven, where ''the truth itself'' is understood to be treasured up. Hence all attempts to read into the simple language of Papias about the Gospel of Matthew some obscure and recondite allusion to a document unheard of until the nineteenth century fall completely to the ground. Critics may have proto-Matthews and proto-Marks to their hearts' content. But to find them *in the language of Papias* is mere self-delusion. Papias gives no *tradition* concerning the origin of Matthew, but simply the *statement* whose bearing we have explained. He does not explain or defend his resort to Matthew for the precepts (*λόγια*) which he proposed to interpret. The reason is simple. No tradition was called for. His recourse to the standard ''compend'' could be taken for granted. We do not find, therefore, that Papias cites any ancient tradition regarding the Gospel according to Matthew. We only learn that in 140-150 it already bore the same title as now.

With Mark the case is entirely different. What Papias describes in his reference to ''Mark'' is simply our Mark, just as his ''Matthew'' is our Matthew. But Mark did not claim to be apostolic in the strict sense in which this authority was accorded to Matthew. It was understood to be only a transcript of words of Peter translated at the time of utterance and afterward written down. This Gospel gave comparatively little of the variously interpreted ''precepts,'' being more concerned with ''things done by the Lord.'' In particular its ''order'' was very difficult to harmonize with the (supposedly apostolic) order of Matthew. In Papias' time the Gospel of Mark, main dependence as it had been of our first and

third evangelists, had sunk so low in popular esteem as to be seldom quoted. There is doubt whether it is ever quoted when a quotation from Matthew, or even from Luke, would cover the point at issue. Had Mark been deemed adequate Luke and Matthew might never have been written. What wonder that they threw it more and more into the shade? Three centuries later Victor of Antioch could not discover a single commentary on Mark, though he knew of many on Matthew and John, and a few on Luke. The very form in which Mark reaches us is a token of this disesteem. Had its original form been acceptable the second century would hardly have allowed it to circulate in a mutilated edition, either wholly without an ending, or supplied with one manufactured for the purpose, or compiled out of other Gospels.[2]

Resort to so inferior a source in Papias' time required to be explained and defended. Therefore Papias explains and defends his use of Mark at considerable length, assuming the characteristic tone of an apologist, and appealing (as his custom was) to the authority of "the Elders." It is the main purpose of the paragraph regarding Mark cited for us by Eusebius from the Preface of Papias to explain why he (Papias) does not limit himself to Matthew's "compend of the precepts," but for "some things" (ἔνια) resorts also to a non-apostolic record. His defence consists of a tradition (not a mere statement of current opinion) reported to him from "the Elder," presumably the same "Elder John," from whom Eusebius informs us he habitually quoted "traditions" (παραδόσεις). This tradition about Mark Papias accompanies by comments of his own both by way of explanation and for inference and application. The comments are distinguishable from the tradition itself partly by the use of the first person ("as I said"), partly by the repetition in different language of the substance of the testimony. We may divide the extract into three parts: (1) testimony; (2) explanation; (3) inference. The divisions occur at the points where an explanatory γάρ separates (1) from (2), and a "Thus" (ὥστε) introduces (3) the application.

(1) The Elder said this also: Mark, who had been Peter's interpreter, wrote down carefully as much as he remembered; (recording) both sayings and doings of Christ; not, however, in order.

[2] *Cf.* Sanday, *Studies in the Synoptic Problem,* 1911, p. 23, "The moment the two longer Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke were written, the shorter Gospel of St. Mark was at a discount. In early times it was always the Gospel least used and least quoted. The two longer Gospels incorporated the greater part of St. Mark; and therefore the possessor of either of them possessed practically the substance of St. Mark as well: and so that Gospel fell into comparative, though of course not complete disuse."

The explanations which follow at this point are introduced by an interpretative γάρ, and use the first person, so that we cannot make "the Elder" responsible for more than the above twenty-four words. Some even question his responsibility for the clause represented by the last four of these ("not, however, in order"). But this seems an excess of skepticism; for in the Greek the clause is centrally placed. Moreover the comments which Papias now appends take up this particular clause οὐ μέντοι τάξει as the expression requiring explanation. It is therefore more natural to regard the clause itself as part of the testimony. Papias' comments, on the other hand, are very instructive as showing how he understood the Elder's utterance. At the same time they exhibit clearly his motive for adducing it. Papias (not the Elder) continues:

(2) For he (Mark) was not a hearer of the Lord, nor a follower (παρηκολούθησέν αὐτῷ, cf. παρηκολουθηκώς τις in the previous fragment); but was later a follower of Peter, as I said.[3]
And he (Peter) adapted his teachings to the needs (of his hearers), not (arranging them) as one who is engaged in making a compend of the Lord's precepts (οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων, var. λόγων).

Papias is here apologizing for the variation of Markan order from Matthean. The Elder had criticized the "order" of Mark, perhaps from the literary, perhaps from the historical point of view. Papias thinks the method followed by Peter in his oral utterances will account for the defect. He therefore proceeds to tell (making reference to an earlier passage in his own work not included among the extant fragments) what the relation had been between Peter and Mark. The evangelist had "followed" Peter as interpreter (of his preaching). Under these circumstances, he points out, Mark could not have the true order without some further enquiry; because Peter did not arrange the material as he would have done if planning a "compend of the Lord's precepts" (σύνταξις τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων). Papias fails to explain why this further enquiry was not made by Mark, but he could hardly have thought of Peter entertaining the purpose of "compiling a compend of the precepts" had this idea not been suggested by the nature of the work he ascribes to Matthew under substantially identical terms (συνετάξατο τὰ λόγια). Moreover we should observe that the explanatory clause (2) does not give us words of the Elder. Nor does the Elder make any refer-

[3] The passage in which Papias made this statement is no longer extant, but has been conjectured independently and on good grounds by Lightfoot and Zahn to have been an inference based on I Pt. 5: 13; *cf.* Eusebius, *H.E.* II, xv., and III, xxxix. 15. Harnack in *ZNTW.* III (1902) s.v. "Pseudopapianisches" disputes this; but his criticism of Zahn is only partially applicable.

ence to the compilation of precepts (λόγια), but only to the contents of Mark as a miscellany of sayings and doings (ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα). It is from some other quarter than the Elder's testimony that the idea of "a compend of the Lord's precepts" is imported.

Even the basis for Papias' explanation of the relations between Mark and Peter does not appear to be the Elder's testimony. It seems to be Papias' own idea, whether derived from I Pt. 5:13 or elsewhere. He admits (such being the Elder's testimony) that Mark could not put the material of his Gospel in true (chronological) order. This was because he had not been an eye-witness. Peter might have supplied the lack, but had not done so in his preaching, because he considered the needs of his hearers rather than the possible wishes of an "interpreter" bent on writing a Gospel. He would have supplied the "order" later if Mark had asked it—and here occurs a logical lacuna which later reporters of the tradition fill out in accordance with their predilections—but either Mark did not or could not obtain access to him. This paragraph, then, is Papias' explanation of the defect which the Elder reports in Mark but fails to explain, the fact that his Gospel shows neither the completeness nor the systematic order which one would expect in the compiler of a σύνταξις τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων. Irenaeus, depending on Papias, infers that at the time of writing Peter was no longer living. But the inference is not unavoidable. Clement and later writers find explanations more acceptable.

After explanation follows application. As the Q. E. D. of Papias' defence, to show that in spite of omissions, in spite of incorrect order, in spite of the lack of direct apostolic authority, one could not afford to neglect Mark, Papias now reverts to the testimony of the Elder as originally cited, restating it, however, in terms more explicitly adapted to his purpose:

(3) Accordingly Mark committed no error in thus recording some things (ἔνια; the Elder had said ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν) as he recalled them. For he made it his one care to omit nothing that he had heard (the Elder had said "*all* that he heard"), and to set down nothing falsely (the Elder had said "he wrote *accurately*").

It will be apparent from the above analysis of the Papias fragment that application of the stereoscopic lens is quite as needful in patristic extracts as in the Gospels themselves. It is vital to historical interpretation of the testimony to distinguish foreground from background, the testimony itself from what the reporter is attempting to prove from it. Here the vital distinction is that

Papias has all the time Matthew in his mind's eye; whereas the Elder's words presuppose no document of any sort beyond Mark itself. For Papias the question is: Should Mark be allowed standing comparable to Matthew's? He needs for his *Interpretations* a "compend of the Lord's commandments" containing all of them, in proper order, without error or ambiguity of expression. Matthew (he thinks) falls short of this ideal in only one respect—the ambiguity incident to unauthorized translation. Mark falls short in several respects; still, so far as he went, he "committed no error." Thus Papias.

The original testimony of the Elder, on the other hand, when considered by and for itself alone, has no side glance at Matthew, nor indeed at any "compend" of any sort whatever. In itself it is simply a judgment passed upon the work ascribed to Mark as any person qualified by knowledge of "the living and abiding voice" of tradition derived from the disciples of the Lord would naturally pass it. Since the Elder believed the alleged "Memoirs of Peter" to be "according to Mark," as represented in the title, he would approve the contents in general; but for the sake of his own authority and that of the body of "Elders the disciples of the Apostles" he would surely not fail to point out that they were incomplete, and (as the author's loose agglutination of anecdotes makes evident to the least expert observer) not a systematic presentation such as might be expected from one of the Twelve. As Zahn points out,[4] his criticism of Mark's "order" is not relative but absolute. He does not compare Mark with some other gospel, but simply notes its loose and subjective character in respect to the sequence of events.

If we thus place ourselves at the point of view of Papias, as he defends his right to go beyond the "compend" of Matthew for the "precepts" he proposes to interpret, distinguishing the argument of the lawyer from the testimony of the witness, it will be obvious that Papias takes the Elder's acquaintance with this apostolic "compend" for granted. Papias is, of course, mistaken in thinking Matthew to be apostolic. So far as anything actually quoted from the Elder goes to show, he appears to be mistaken also in assuming the Elder to be acquainted with the work. The Elder may or may not have known the Gospel of that name. All that can reliably be deduced from his testimony may be paraphrased as follows: "The book submitted to me (the Elder) purports to be *Reminiscences of the Preaching of Peter* (the work is referred to by Justin in 152 A.D. as *Peter's Memoirs,* Ἀπομνημονεύματα Πέτρου) given out under the

[4] *Introduction to New Testament,* II, p. 439.

hand of Mark. This I can endorse. Mark really was associated with Peter. He has done all that could be expected under the circumstances.'' The Elder's commendation of the Gospel is therefore sincere and genuine. Papias is justified in citing it as such. But it is guarded. It endorses the work; but it goes little beyond the obvious. The competence of Mark's rendering of Peter's words into Greek would be clear from his career, even if it were not involved in his very surname Μάρκος. On the other hand the unknown applicant who submits the book (Papias?) is also cautioned by the Elder against an overestimate of its value. He should not imagine that these mere miscellanies of words and deeds supply an adequate knowledge of the ''commandments delivered by the Lord.'' Books have their use. One may be ''profited'' by their reports of what Peter related, whether of sayings or doings of the Lord. But ''not so much'' as through the teaching of the ''successors of the Apostles.'' To learn the real meaning of the sacred tradition one should apply at headquarters. Those who perpetuate the unbroken chain of teaching handed down in the mother-church by men who can report actual utterances of the Lord's own disciples are the safest guides. The ''living'' voice, ''abiding'' at its original seat, in the original language, should have the deciding influence in questions of faith and practice. Such is Papias' caution to those who depend on ''books.'' He probably echoes the Elders in these phrases. It is important to notice the reservations of the witness (John the Elder) as well as the affirmations for the sake of which the lawyer (Papias) is appealing to his testimony. Professors who are called upon by students for an estimate of books which appear in their own field will appreciate the tone of the Elder's endorsement of Mark.

The explanation of Papias' apparent disesteem for ''books'' as compared with oral tradition, while at the same time he accepts the Gospel of Matthew as the writing of an Apostle, lies in his intermediate position. He himself unavoidably depends on books. The Elders did not. Papias does not aim to accumulate ''commandments.'' The content of gospel precept is for him already practically fixed. He deals with the ''interpretation'' of an existing collection, the compend (σύνταξις) of Matthew. But the Church applies these precepts in one way, the Gnostics in another. In particular the eschatological teachings are in most heated debate. Papias has a book purporting to have been ''revealed to John while yet in the body and given out to the churches.'' He held that this statement of Rev. 1 : 10 f. was ''trustworthy'' (ἀξιόπιστος). He also had ''traditions of the Elders'' bearing on eschatology. One in particular on

the great fertility of Palestine in the Coming Age the Elders related in the form of a discourse of Jesus, reported by Apostles, Iscariot demurring. Irenaeus willingly accepts this "somewhat mythical" story, though Eusebius balks at it, maintaining that Papias took literally the "apostolic accounts" which were spoken "symbolically." But Papias does not stand in a first-hand relation to the Lord's utterances. He cannot be supposed so lacking in common sense as to prefer an indirect report of what the Apostle John had said to John's own written words (for so he esteemed them) in the Book of Revelation. Neither does he prefer oral tradition as to what the Apostle Matthew had said to what he regards as the actual written words of Matthew in the Gospel. Papias stands a stage further away than "the disciples of the Apostles." The doctrinal issues at stake in his time are two. First, a real Jerusalem in which the saints should dwell a thousand years with the Lord. Far be it from him to interpret with Eusebius "symbolically." On this issue Papias, like Justin, sides with the "Apostle John, to whom was granted the Revelation." Second, "Commandments of the Lord" interpreted as the Epistles of James and Jude require, "a new law," as Barnabas calls them, versus an interpretation offering forgiveness of sins by sheer grace on the basis of faith only. On these two issues Papias holds with Matthew, with James and Jude, and with the Elders the disciples of the Apostles in Jerusalem. Like Polycarp, his comrade in the struggle, he would "turn to the tradition handed down from the very first." Like Polycarp he may have actually conversed with the Elders in person, besides indirect enquiries at a later time from those who came his way. Perhaps he had no direct contact with the Jerusalem group. Nevertheless, his disesteem for "books" can only be a reflection of the overweening dependence on tradition characteristic of the "successors of the Apostles" and kindred of the Lord at Jerusalem, as it appears in the fragments of Hegesippus. The difference between Papias and the Elders, however, lies in the fact that while Papias has at least two books (Matthew and the Revelation of John) and probably three (he also "used testimonies from the (first) Epistle of Peter") which he regards as written by actual "disciples of the Lord," we have no evidence that the Elders were acquainted with any of these, or made any exception whatever in their disregard for "books." For them there was but one Book, "the Law and the prophets"; and one Interpreter, "the Lord."

The distinction made above between the original testimony of the Elder, and the later interpretation put upon it by Papias, is in-

dispensable to any scientific enquiry. Assumptions of knowledge on the part of the Elder, or still more on the part of Papias, of a document employed in common by Matthew and Luke, symbolized in modern criticism by the designation Q, are gratuitous and misleading. Safe advance requires that we be merciless in challenging inferences from the Elder's testimony, beginning with those made by Papias himself; for the real basis of such inferences is not always the testimony in itself considered, so much as the presupposition of the critic. We are not entitled to make any presuppositions whatever with regard to the Elder's witness. We simply learn that the Gospel of Mark, just as we now know it, was brought to his attention early in the second century or late in the first, and that he gave it commendation with the reserves we have specified. Such guarded commendation is precisely what we should expect from a representative of "the Elders the successors of the Apostles." And such was "the Elder John," even were there no acceptance for our conjectural identification of him with the "Elder John" mentioned by both Eusebius and Epiphanius as head of the church in Jerusalem. The Elders at Jerusalem, as Hegesippus informs us, regarded themselves as the guardians and champions of orthodoxy. As Papias shows, they relied upon their possession of unbroken (ζῶσα), indigenous (μενοῦσα) tradition of the teaching of the original disciples. In the section of the fragment set off above as secondary by a prefixed (2), as in the statement regarding Matthew, we are not listening to the Elders, the champions of oral tradition, *ca.* 100. We are listening to the voice of the users of our own Greek Gospels in the age of Justin Martyr. When Papias in these two paragraphs, whether in closer or remoter connection, twice uses the expression "compend of the Lord's precepts," saying in the former that Peter adapted his accounts of the Lord's sayings and doings to the needs of his hearers, "not as one who makes a compend of the Lord's precepts," and in the latter that Matthew did "make a compend of the Lord's precepts" our interpretation should be governed by our knowledge of what was then accepted opinion regarding the two canonical Greek Gospels of Mark and Matthew respectively. As sources for the "commandments" Matthew and Mark were Papias' only apostolic "compends," Mark as representing Peter. For this fact he appealed to "the Elder." Mark did give a faithful report of Peter's teaching. Other statements contained in Papias' explanatory clause (2), such as the reference to Rome as the place where Peter had been associated with Mark (if it be indeed from Papias that this is derived by the later tradition), and the assumption that the defect of "order" mentioned by the Elder was chrono-

logical (which may or may not be correct), have no further authority than Papias' own opinion.

There is reason to believe that Roman provenance was probably asserted by Papias.[5] But if so it was asserted on the authority not of the Elder, but of I Pt. 5:13. Indeed even the particular term "interpreter" in clause (1) must be subject to some suspicion, since it is Papias, not the Elder, who seems to be concerned with the differences of language, speaking not only of the "translation" of Matthew but of his own "renderings" (ἑρμηνείαι) of the precepts. What the Elder attested was doubtless the association of Mark with Peter. We may, perhaps, be doing better justice to the facts if mentally, in listening to the Elder through Papias' report, we place the emphasis on the proper name ("*Peter's* interpreter was Mark"), and regard the choice of terms which describe the nature of the association as dictated by Papias' preoccupation with the difference of language.

With all these precautions against importation of later preconceptions into the testimony of the Elder (and past experience demonstrates their need) the tradition itself has an importance corresponding to the epoch-making work to which it relates. The Elder's statement is an altogether unique testimony, on which all subsequent tradition would appear to have been based. It is a verdict pronounced upon the first known example of the genus Gospel. It is pronounced on behalf of the Elders, the disciples of the Apostles, guardians and champions of the oral tradition. We shall have further enquiry to make as to its precise bearing and significance.

[5] Bacon, in *Harvard Theological Studies*, VII (1919).

CHAPTER IV

THE DATE AND MEANING OF PAPIAS

The date of composition of Papias' *Expositions* affects to some extent the conclusions thus far reached. Fortunately a decade or so of difference will not be of vital consequence. Nevertheless the question must be considered, and the possible effect of difference allowed for.

Hitherto we have proceeded on the assumption that the date fixed by Westcott and adopted by Stanton in his *Gospels as Historical Documents* (Vol. I, p. 52) is approximately correct. This date, 140-150, is slightly earlier than that worked out by Harnack (145-160), but later than some defenders of the church tradition would accept. Moffatt (*Introd.* p. 185) sums up the case as follows:

> As Papias was an ἀρχαῖος ἀνήρ to Irenaeus, and as, on the other hand, he looked back to his connection with the oral tradition of the presbyters as an old episode when he composed his book, the date of that volume cannot be put much earlier than *c.* A.D. 120. If the De Boor fragment (*T.u.U.* v. 2. p. 170), which makes him mention people who, after being raised from the dead by Jesus, lived "till the age of Hadrian," is really a quotation, the date would have to be carried down at least another decade; but it is not a quotation (probably a mere blunder for "Quadratus" on the part of Philip Sidetes, who makes the excerpt from Eusebius), and the *terminus ad quem* for this writing's composition is not later than *c.* A.D. 160. It may be dated in 140(5)-160 (Harnack), 140-150 (Westcott), 130-140 (Lightfoot), or *c.* 125 (Zahn).

Bartlet, resting upon the close affinity of Papias with Polycarp, whom Irenaeus calls a "comrade (ἑταῖρος) of Papias," goes to the extreme of dating the work as early as 115. Against this should be set the consideration which was decisive with Lightfoot: Defence cannot be placed before attack. Papias' polemic references in his preface to certain false teachers who "report alien commandments," and others "who have so very much to say" undoubtedly recall the expressions of Polycarp's epistles about the "false teachers," and the "vain talk of the many." Both bishops are alarmed at the inroads of those who "pervert the precepts of the Lord (τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου) to their own lusts," and those who "deny the (physical) resurrection and the judgment." Both look to "the tradition handed down from the first" as the principal resource of the

Church in combating the Gnostic heretics. Both had probably had personal contact with the Elders. As respects "the wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus" both breathe the atmosphere of the Pastoral Epistles and Jude.

But Papias is later than Polycarp by as much as systematic authentication of church tradition lags behind sweeping denials of its credibility. Papias joins Polycarp in denouncing the perverters of the commandments, but goes beyond him in the special emphasis he lays upon the rewards and penalties of the world to come, much as Second Peter goes beyond Jude. Papias is a protagonist in the long struggle of the chiliasts of the second century against those "false Christians, unworthy to bear the name," whom Justin denounces for maintaining that "when we die our souls are taken to heaven." The emphasis of Matthew upon (1) the Precepts, and (2) the Judgment to come, in which those who have wrought "lawlessness" will be cast into the outer darkness, while the doers of good works enjoy the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world, is exactly to the taste of Papias and his age.[1] We know that Irenaeus thought of him as a companion in arms of Polycarp, even making both to be appointees of the Apostle John, and hearers of "other Apostles in Asia." We know also that Eusebius, who made a careful study of Papias' work for the very purpose of correcting the misconception of Irenaeus regarding the association with "John," also thought of Papias as mainly responsible for the error of the chiliasts, "as for instance Irenaeus, and whoever else they were who declared that they held like views." We must therefore group Papias not only with Polycarp as a champion of the tradition of the Elders, but also with Justin, and Melito of Sardis, and with his own immediate successor in the see of Hierapolis, Claudius Apollinarios, in the battle for chiliasm. In fact we have already presented it as the true explanation of the grouping of "John" and "Matthew" at the end of Papias' list of disciples whose words were cited by the Elders, rather than in their usual sequence, that John and Matthew, as authors respectively of the Revelation (not the Gospel) and the Compend of the Precepts (that is, our present Matthew) were his chief apostolic authorities against the Gnostic deniers of the resurrection and judgment and perverters of the precepts.

These considerations are general. We have here to consider that Papias was the great defender of the received interpretation of the

[1] *Cf.* Ignatius *ad Eph.* ix, "arrayed in the commandments (ἐντολαῖς) of Jesus Christ;" xvi, heretics "go into the unquenchable fire," etc.

precepts, by appeal to "the living and abiding voice" of tradition in the mother-church, against the unauthorized and "alien" sense imposed upon them by the Gnostics.

But the conflict which had already begun in Polycarp's earlier life (115) has in Papias reached the literary stage. As regards perversion of the Lord's precepts we know of two works of alarming influence from Gnostic quarters, which directly challenged the Church's interpretation at about this time. At Alexandria, *ca.* 135, Basilides had published a treatise of this kind in no less than twenty-four books. It was called Ἐξηγήτικα, and its author used the Gospel of Luke as a basis, claiming connection with Peter through a single link, one Glaukias, represented to have been an "interpreter" (ἑρμηνεύς) of Peter. Basilides had an ally in the West more formidable than himself. At Rome but a few years later (the year 140 can be fixed with considerable precision as the proper date) appeared Marcion's reconstructed form of Luke, the same Gospel employed by Basilides. It was accompanied by another work called *Antitheses,* in which Marcion explicitly brought the charge against the Church of having interpolated and otherwise garbled the teaching of Jesus and of Paul. It is to this period of polemic that Papias belongs. According to Eusebius the flame of chiliasm in 150-200 was largely kindled from his *Exegeses.* Judging by this as well as by its polemic against the false and wordy misinterpreters of the Gospel record, the place for the writing would be shortly after 140, a date when the traditions of the mother-church in Jerusalem were no longer obtainable at first hand, because in the insurrection of the Jews in 135, and under the subsequent edict of Hadrian banishing all circumcised persons from the vicinity of Jerusalem, the original body of "the Elders the successors of the Apostles" had been scattered throughout the Christian world. This is the fitting juncture for Papias' *Exegeses.* They appear to have been known to Justin, writing at Rome in 152. On the other hand Papias himself seems to be replying to accusations brought against the Church's report of the "commandments" in 135-140. At this date the body of witnesses at Jerusalem on whom the Church had been wont to rely had been scattered and destroyed. Papias makes much of his former relations with them. Such is the evidence for dating the *Exegeses* of Papias in 140-150.

But even were we to adopt the extreme early date for Papias' work proposed by Bartlet, making it practically contemporary with the Epistle of Polycarp, and extending the period of his "comradeship" with the latter to full forty years (for Polycarp survived

until 155), the case for primitive tradition regarding the date of Mark would not be materially altered. To account for the affinity of Papias' preface with Polycarp's epistle, and even for the use of the same catch-words of ecclesiastical polemic, it is not necessary to suppose that both were written within the same decade, any more than it is necessary to suppose that Papias was of the same age as Polycarp in order to do justice to Irenaeus' statement that they were "comrades." But let it be supposed that the *Interpretations* actually do go back to the period shortly after Ignatius and the Epistle of Polycarp, accounting as best we can for the fact that in the meantime, in this Pauline region, the figure of Paul has already so largely given way to Peter and Matthew and John (the Apocalyptist) as chief apostolic authorities; still we should be obliged to regard the testimony quoted from "the Elder" as belonging to about the same period, the last decade of the first century, or the first of the second.

Against a date for the Elder within the limits of the second century stands only the clause characterizing "Aristion and the Elder John" in the fragment as "disciples of the Lord" (οἱ τοῦ κῡ μαθηταί). As Lightfoot admits, this phrase embodies a "chronological difficulty." Could one or more have actually survived until so late a date, who would be known to the Church as "disciples of the Lord," though unknown, or almost unknown, outside this single passage? The supposition is difficult. But the clause itself is by no means textually certain. True, its entire omission from the fourth-century Syriac Eusebius is probably owing only to perception of the difficulty. But the difficulty is real. On the one hand assimilation in transcription of the clause οἱ τοῦ κῡ μαθηταί to the identical clause in the preceding line, where it is applied to the Apostles, is extremely easy. On the other hand, it is extremely difficult to suppose that Papias would use the very same term which he had just applied to the Apostles themselves, to describe these relatively obscure individuals; especially as the apparent object of the clause is to distinguish the two groups. We are therefore driven to the conjecture that the meaning was that Aristion and John were disciples of the *Apostles,* not of the Lord himself. This meaning has been brought out in various proposed emendations, but that which offers the least violence to the received text is one which since its proposal by the present writer in *JBL.* XVII. 176 ff. has received some important approval (*cf.* E. Abbott s.v. "Gospels" in *Enc. Bibl.* II, col. 1815). The proposed emendation would substitute only the letters τῶ for κῡ making the clause read "the disciples of

these'' (that is, the Apostles named), instead of ''the disciples of the Lord.'' Aristion (of whom absolutely nothing is known)[2] and the Elder John would then be the successors in Papias' time of the group who are known to later writers as ''the successors of the Apostles'' (διαδόχοι τῶν ἀποστόλων) in Jerusalem. In Acts the same group appear several times (11:30; 15:22 f.; 21:18) in similar relation to the Apostles and ''kindred of the Lord.'' Loyalty to the better attested text of Eusebius requires us to leave open the possibility that ''the Elder'' was really known as a ''disciple of the Lord,'' which could only mean that he was so long-lived as to have actually conversed with Jesus in the flesh. But it is more probable that in Eusebius' time (if not already in Irenaeus') the text of Papias had suffered this slight alteration, and that the Elder John was really a survivor, along with the unknown Aristion, of the group of Jerusalem ''elders'' known as ''successors'' or ''disciples'' of the Apostles. We may even hold that he was the same ''John'' of Jerusalem who is mentioned by both Eusebius and Epiphanius midway of the Jerusalem succession between 62 and 135. If so, the date of his death will not be far from the year 117, where it is fixed by Epiphanius. True this date is probably mere conjecture due to the fact that this was a year of martyrdoms in Jewish tradition,[3] and that ''John'' was counted a martyr. But even if Epiphanius is only guessing (as so often), he cannot be very far astray. The testimony of the Elder must be placed approximately at the turn of the century.

Besides the question of the date of the Elder's testimony we have also to consider its meaning, with special reference to his criticism of Mark's ''order.'' For while Papias implies by his contrast between the opportunities of Mark as a follower of Peter, and those of an eye-witness such as Matthew, that *he* is contemplating chronological order, this is by no means certain concerning the Elder. For it does not appear that Papias' ''traditions of John'' were all derived at first hand. On the contrary he expressly says he learned ''from those who came his (my) way what Aristion and the Elder John were saying.'' His claim of early direct association with ''the

[2] The Aristo of Pella named by Eusebius shortly after (*H.E.* IV, vi. 3) is a heathen writer. The gloss before Mk. 16: 9-20 in the Edschmiazin Codex, ascribing the Appendix to ''The Elder Aristo,'' is a conjecture based on misunderstanding of Moses of Chorene. See Bacon s.v. ''Aristion-Aristo'' in Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.*

[3] ''The slain of Lydda'' (in the *polemos* of Quietus, 117 A.D.) are frequently mentioned in the Talmud with reverential praise (*Pesikta* 50a, *Baba Bathra* 10b, *Ecclus. R.* IX. 10).

Elders'' (ἔμαθον παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων *probably* implies this) does not therefore exclude the possibility of his misunderstanding them on a point of subordinate importance.

We have not yet fully determined the point of view of Papias himself on this question of the ''order.'' He undoubtedly has some written standard in mind (which cannot be assumed regarding the Elder) and we have thus far taken it to have been the Gospel of Matthew. But it has been held that Papias' standard of ''order'' may have been the Johannine. No less a critic than Wernle has committed himself to this view, and it has received endorsement from Moffatt in his *Introduction,* to mention no others. It becomes incumbent upon us, therefore, to defend our adoption of the older view, which assumes that Papias at least (the question of the Elder's standard is secondary) regarded Matthew as supplying the true, apostolic, and authoritative order of events in Gospel narrative, departure from which must be explained, as in the case of Peter, ''who uttered his teachings as occasion required, and not as one who is engaged in making a compend of the Lord's discourses'' (ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων, var. λογίων). This literary work Papias ascribes to Matthew (συνετάξατο τὰ λόγια).

The expression ''a compend of the Lord's discourses,'' used by Papias to describe the literary work an Apostle might be expected to have in contemplation, cannot in the age of Papias, however early his work be dated, have any other composition in view than our own Gospel of Matthew. From the time of Polycarp and Ignatius (115) down to that of Claudius Apollinarios, who assumes the reliability of the chronology of ''Matthew'' in the Paschal controversy of Laodicea about 167, the Gospel of Matthew is invariably the standard in all orthodox circles for the ''commandments given by the Lord to the faith,'' whether as regards order or completeness. Just how soon after Ignatius the name ''According to Matthew'' had become attached to this Gospel we cannot tell. It is certain that Ignatius uses the work. But he does not use it as if he attached apostolic authority to it. It is also certain that within a decade or so after Ignatius it is quoted in church circles as ''the'' Gospel, and used as the supreme apostolic authority. These are the termini for the rise of the tradition of Matthean authorship. There is absolutely no knowledge in Papias' time of a Second Source or any other ''compend of the Lord's discourses'' of any kind save the Gospel of Matthew. It is the invariable resort of all church writers, such as Justin, for everything that they would advance authoritatively concerning the Lord's life or teaching. If occasionally they

report something from Luke, or more rarely from Mark, it is usually for the very obvious reason that it was not contained in Matthew. For the "commandments" resort to Matthew might be expected from the nature of this Gospel. As regards the narrative, and in particular the order of events, the explanation is equally simple. Matthew's Gospel alone was supposed to record the direct testimony of an Apostle. In 150 A.D. the fourth Gospel had not yet appeared above the horizon. It existed, but is never appealed to as an authoritative writing. Theophilus of Antioch (181 A.D.) is the first to ascribe it to "John." Not even Justin has recourse to "John" for endorsement of any other document than the Apocalypse. When he speaks of "Memoirs of Apostles which are called Gospels, and which were composed by Apostles and companions of Apostles" he means Matthew, Mark, and Luke. This is apparent from his quotations. The "companions" are unquestionably Mark and Luke. The "Apostles" who shared in their task are Peter, who contributed "his memoirs," and Matthew. Paul can hardly be meant. John is not at all in mind, otherwise Justin's Logos doctrine would certainly claim apostolic support. But as a rule Justin does not use the Fourth Gospel. Papias, then, cannot be supposed to have rested on it. For we have strong reason to suppose his book was well known to Justin, and even if this were not the case it would be unreasonable to imagine the bishop of Hierapolis depending upon this Ephesian Gospel while his later contemporary at Rome, though himself converted in Ephesus, makes practically no use of it.

Even were it supposable that Papias regarded the Fourth Gospel as the work of an Apostle, it would still be insupposable that he brought its order into comparison with Matthew's; for the question of Johannine versus Synoptic order came up afterward. We can trace the history of this development, and it clearly belongs to the generation following Papias, and not his own. We cannot indeed precisely date the Monarchian Prologue to Matthew, but it certainly reflects the feeling of the second century when it specifically directs the reader to look for all "matters pertaining to date, order, number, and arrangement, whether chronological or logical," to Matthew (*quarum rerum omnium, tempus, ordo, numerus, dispositio, vel ratio* (sc. *apud Matthaeum repetendum*)). It was at the cost of a severe struggle that room was found toward the close of the second century for the Johannine order alongside the Matthean, and by dint of real prodigies of harmonization. But no advocate of the Johannine order appeals to Papias.

The same inference may be drawn from the Ammonian sections, which for the third century took the place of a harmony of the Gos-

pels. Their author takes the order of Matthew as the basis of his parallels quite as a matter of course. Tatian has a more difficult problem. With his *Diatessaron,* in fact, begins the perplexing task of finding room in the Synoptic outline for Johannine material. Still there is no attempt to displace Matthew from its accepted supremacy. Matthew's order dominated even for Claudius Apollinarios—John is adjusted to it. In short, there is no room before Tatian for the raising of this issue.

It is quite probable that Papias had knowledge of the Fourth Gospel in some form, but more than doubtful if he assigned it apostolic authority. This question has been discussed elsewhere.[4] Either way it is practically certain that Papias did not raise the issue which a generation later was brought into the foreground through the opposition of the Alogi to the admission of John to canonical standing. In the days of Gaius' *Dialogue against Proclus* (180-185?) it could be argued, and was argued, that the failure of the Gospel of John to agree with the Matthean order showed its spurious origin. But the very fact that neither Montanist nor anti-Montanist makes appeal to Papias shows that the issue had not been previously drawn. Not even Irenaeus looks to Papias for support in contending for the Johannine authorship. Our earliest record of anything approaching comparison of the Johannine order with the Matthean belongs to Papias' own bishopric. His successor at Hierapolis, Claudius Apollinarios, complains of certain "ignorant" persons who find discrepancy between the practice of the (Asiatic) church (quartodeciman, like the Fourth Gospel) and the report of "Matthew." How Apollinarios himself reconciled the two Gospels we are not informed, but he certainly regarded "Matthew" as apostolic and authoritative, and probably adjusted its report as best he could to Asiatic practice and the Johannine chronology. It is later still, and at Rome, that we find traces of comparison of the Johannine order with the Matthean. Here Gaius rejects the Fourth Gospel because it conflicts with Synoptic tradition (which for him means Matthew). Proclus the Montanist from Phrygia, per contra (Eusebius, *H. E.* III, xxiv, on "The Order of the Gospels"), maintains that "the Gospels are not at variance with one another, inasmuch as the Gospel according to John contains the first acts of Christ, while the others give an account of the latter part of his life." The language is that of Eusebius. But his indebtedness to the unorthodox Proclus whom he is reporting is apparent from the earlier portion of the chapter, and from the similar attempt of

[4] Bacon, *Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate,* 1909, p. 73 ff.

Irenaeus to meet the charge of discrepancy by extending the ministry of Jesus over a period of ten or twenty years (!).[5] Finally the *Muratorian Fragment* claims for the order of John (l. 34, "per ordinem") the witness of I Jn. 1:1, which proceeds from "beholding" to "handling" the Logos of life, in correspondence with Jn. 1:14 and 20:26-29.

We are thus afforded a glimpse of the stages of advance. Quartodeciman practice in Asia was apostolic. It went back to the days of Paul (I Cor. 5:7; 15:20). The indigenous Gospel (John) reflects it. With Matthew a different reckoning, also claiming apostolic authority, was introduced. In Papias we can only note the presence of the two conflicting representations. His successor, Claudius Apollinarios, harmonizes. According to him only the ignorant hold that there is conflict. Melito of Sardis is Apollinarios' comrade in this new phase of the struggle, which Montanus complicates by his claims for the rights of "prophecy" and insistence on the apostolic authority of the Johannine writings, especially the Revelation. Melito and Apollinarios also accept the Johannine writings, but find difficulty in reconciling them with Matthew. Proclus, the disciple of Montanus, transfers the scene of conflict from Phrygia to Rome. The stages are successive and datable. They cannot be reversed.

All this development is later than Papias, and follows by a natural sequence upon the apostolic authority with which he had invested (a) the Matthean Gospel of the Commandments, and (b) the Johannine "Revelation" of the Resurrection and Judgment. Irenaeus is a (later) representative of those who (through sympathy with Montanus or otherwise) had in the meantime extended the claim of apostolic authorship from the Revelation (which really purports to be written by "John") to the anonymous Gospel emanating from the same region at about the same time (Ephesus, *ca.* 100). With Irenaeus they assume responsibility for the difficulties which began to be felt in reconciling the two forms of Gospel tradition. Papias had borne testimony to the Johannine authorship of the Revelation, as Andreas and Aretas inform us. If it could be shown that Papias made similar claims for the Gospel it might be reasonable to carry back these disputes to his time. But the supposed testimony reported in certain late Latin Prologues to the effect that Papias declared that the Ephesian Gospel "was revealed (manifestatum) and given out to the churches by John while yet in the body" has been shown by the present writer to be a

[5] *Haer.* II, xxii. 5.

mere adaptation of Rev. 1 : 9-11.[6] The fragment probably does represent the testimony of Papias to *Revelation,* to which Andreas refers, a testimony which some second- or third-century defender of the entire Johannine canon, such as Irenaeus or Hippolytus, has extended to cover the Gospel also. Its phraseology (*manifestatum, datum ecclesiis*) shows that it belongs to the Revelation (*cf.* Rev. 1 : 11). An actual testimony of Papias to the apostolic origin of the *Gospel* which escaped the notice not only of Eusebius but of Proclus, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and all the other defenders in the age of assault upon this Gospel both in Phrygia and Rome, is an extreme improbability. On these grounds we regard it as anachronistic to imagine Papias criticizing the order of Mark by reference to John, whom he does not mention, rather than Matthew, whom he takes to be the author of the standard *σύνταξις τῶν λογίων.*

Recognizing that it is the order of Matthew, and only this order, which determines the standpoint of Papias, we must still hesitate somewhat as to the precise meaning of the Elder, whom Papias quotes. The Elder criticizes the order of Mark absolutely, not with reference to some other writing; but he may have considered the ideal order to be either one of two very different types, that of (a) the *σύνταξις,* or (b) the *διήγησις.* Matthew, as we have seen, gives us a systematic presentation of the "commandments" by constructing a new Torah in five 'books' with Prologue (Mt. 1-2) and Epilogue (Mt. 26-28). For this purpose he combines the narrative of Mark with the discourse material of the Second Source so as to produce a succession of narratives, each framing in a body of legislation, and linked to the next by a recurrent formula. It is the method of the Books of Moses. Papias calls Matthew a *σύνταξις τῶν λογίων.* It would be hard to find a term more exactly descriptive of the work as we have it. For those whose conception of the evangelic message was of this Jewish, neo-legalistic type such an "order" would be very serviceable. The other type of order would be the narrative or *διήγησις.* This is adopted by Luke, who in this follows the example of "many," including Mark. Luke believes, however, that he can improve upon the work of these predecessors because he had "followed all things from the very first," or, as we may probably better render, "had contact with them long ago." He does, in fact, tell his story in chronological sequence, even correcting here and there the order of Mark where visibly unchronological, and

[6] Bacon, "Latin Prologues of John," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* XXXII, iii, 1913, and "Marcion, Papias and the Elders," *Journal of Theological Studies,* XXIII, 90, Jan. 1922.

casting the new discourse material into the form of a Peraean Journey. Luke, therefore, by his own statement, writes an improved διήγησις.

"Not, however, in order" (οὐ μέντοι τάξει) can therefore apply either to literary or chronological arrangement. The first use we should make of the Elder's testimony as to Mark's "order" should be to dissuade from the attempt to read into it what cannot rightly be carried further back than Papias. *Papias* assumes the Elder to mean the Lukan type of "order," the chronological order of a διήγησις. *The Elder* may or may not have had chronological order in view. We have as yet no means of determining the matter. To his mind Mark's Gospel lacked τάξις. Why it did so is a question for further consideration.

Our only basis of judgment (apart from the general assumption that Papias' understanding of the testimony must be taken to be correct unless some consideration be opposed) is the very limited content of the Elder's description of the work. He views it as a "miscellany" (ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα). He observes its character as a compilation of anecdotes reproduced from an apostle's (preaching?) utterances. By making the supposition that he had some document with which the order of Mark could be compared it would be easy to explain why he made the criticism. But we are not entitled to make such suppositions if the facts can be explained without. And in this case no such supposition is needed. Moreover the criticism is not relative but absolute.

It is true enough that for modern critics Mark's order is the best available, because chronological sequence is what the historical critic mainly desires. He finds the nearest approach to this in Mark. Little as this Gospel gives toward an outline of Jesus' career, even that minimum is the historian's sole Ariadne thread. It appears to have been much the same to Luke, in spite of his efforts to reach a better (chronological) "order"; and Matthew has not helped the matter by his attempt at a logical τάξις. But why should one of "the Elders" prefer one written order to another? And why, if he did, should he not point out that in this respect Mark offers no appreciable advantage over oral tradition. Anecdotes and sayings, told for purposes of religious edification or church apologetic—these are all Mark has to give. The thread of story is barely sufficient to hold them together. Even if the work did not bear the title of Miscellany (ἀπομνημονεύματα) its character was self-evident.

Probably the anecdotes and sayings told by the Elders were related in much the same looseness of connection, for such is the very nature of oral tradition. No other connection appears in any quar-

ter—for the very simple reason that there *was* no other. But that which we ourselves lack we do not always refrain from warning the public they should not expect to find in others. Neither need we suppose that the Elders did not regard their own τάξις (whether logical like Matthew's or chronological like Luke's) as far superior to that of any mere compiler of Petrine "reminiscences," however conscientious, unless he were able to verify it by enquiry from some apostolic source. The Elder, then, does not appear to be commending some other document in place of Mark as containing a better "order." He is merely entering a general caution, which if observed by our modern interpreters of Mark would have saved them from the very error to which they are most prone. He is reminding his questioner that Mark is a "miscellany" (ἀπομνημονεύματα).

The wish is irrepressible to have a real life of Christ, instead of the mere collection of anecdotes illustrative of the movement he conducted, which is all the records supply. Every commentator longs to make it appear that the story (or better, the group of agglutinated stories) of Mark is a real, consecutive outline of that brief, dramatic career which culminated at Calvary. Often the wish is father to the thought. But it is against our own better knowledge, as well as against the warning of the Elder, that we take this optimistic view. One modern "Life of Christ" follows another, one "Commentary on Mark" follows another, all pressing to the utmost the supposition that these manifestly artificial, topical connections represent the actual, historical sequence of events. Even a Johannes Weiss can argue that because he discovers no other reason why the story of the Epileptic (Mk. 9:14-29) should follow on the Transfiguration, therefore, in spite of the geographical implications, it must have actually happened at this particular time. The warning of the Elder should have borne better fruit. A critic so competent as Weiss, so familiar with the method of "The Oldest Gospel" of stringing anecdotes together in that order which would in his judgment best suit the religious needs of his readers (an order πρὸς τὰς χρείας), should have thought twice before using such an argument.

We cannot be sure how much of the representation of Peter's preaching in Papias' explanation was derived from the Elder. But this we can say: Whoever explained the order of the Markan miscellanies as due to the exigencies of homiletic edification has supplied the real key to its nature. Only those whose exposition of this Gospel proceeds on the principle that its anecdotes are arranged primarily in the interest of religious edification (including apologetic), and only *secondarily* in the interest of biography or history,

will do real justice to the facts. On this point the Elder's criticism is more penetrating than most of that put forward today.[7]

Critics who argue for an Ur-Markus as the work Papias and the Elders had in view generally do so on the ground that the Elders criticize the order of the work, whereas no gospel known to us has an order historically as good as Mark's, and even such historical value as attaches to the order of the other Gospels is derived from Mark. The fact is undeniable. There should be no failure to admit that *relatively to others* Mark's order has more traces of historicity. Without some real connection, nearer or more remote, with an eyewitness such as Peter even Mark's minimum of historical movement from beginnings in Capernaum to exile in "the coasts of Tyre and Sidon," new beginnings at Caesarea Philippi and catastrophe at Jerusalem, would hardly have survived. But why should Papias' criticism of Mark's order require as its basis some other Gospel of Mark than ours, if he was mentally comparing Mark with Matthew—or for that matter with John? and why should the Elder be using as a standard any document whatever? True enough, Mark's order is relatively the best, or at least *chronologically* the best. Nevertheless *Papias* would inevitably prefer Matthew's. Again, Mark's order, however superior to Matthew's, Luke's, or John's, is *not* historical. But why should we suppose the Elder so ignorant of the nature of synagogue and church teaching by the "telling of tales" (haggada), and edifying anecdote (midrash), as not to recognize what sort of material was being submitted to him in the form of *Miscellanies of Peter* (Ἀπομνημονεύματα Πέτρου)? The real fact of the case, when we study the structure of Mark with all the refinements of modern criticism, is this: Mark has neither the τάξις of Matthew nor the τάξις of Luke, though it has attempts at both. The Elder (not Papias, but Papias' informant) gives us no ground for supposing that he had knowledge of either Luke or Matthew; to say nothing of John. As regards the basic fact that Mark is lacking in τάξις of *either* kind his judgment is abundantly confirmed. More heed to it would have saved us much misinterpretation.

The Elder needed nothing more than a moment's survey of the Gospel of Mark to reveal its lack of τάξις. This will perhaps be conceded. But the deficiency itself, and the Elder's recognition of the fact, has no small bearing on the question of date. The outstanding fact is this. Gospel writing began with a miscellany of anecdotes,

[7] Recent German criticism has gone far to remedy this defect. The "theory of pericopes" developed by R. Bultmann in his *Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition* (1921) on the basis of M. Dibelius (*Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*), and K. L. Schmidt (*Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu*) is of great value.

not with a history or biography, not with a Torah of new commandments, but with groups of stories told on various occasions in the course of missionary preaching. Why did it begin so? Why, after it had begun in this imperfect way, could nothing better be done to improve the τάξις than to interpolate sections from a compilation of different type, as in the artificial attempts of Luke and Matthew? This is one of the problems for us to consider. Indeed it is the primary problem for those who look at Synoptic story as a whole, asking why it consists of mere agglutinations of anecdotes.

Our survey of primitive testimony is in some respects disappointing. As so often happens, when reduced to what can be really relied upon, its contents are less informing than we had hoped. Zahn has noted as characteristic of the testimony of the ancient Prologues and Argumenta that they consist almost invariably of inferences based upon the contents of the work itself to which they are prefixed or appended. The authors of Argumenta took their material where it could be had with least effort. The same seems to be largely true of our fundamental report of gospel origins. The Elder doubtless had knowledge of both Peter and Mark as individuals. Whether he had knowledge of the origin of the document submitted to him, other than he could draw at the moment from its title Ἀπομνημονεύματα Πέτρου κατὰ Μάρκον, and brief inspection of the contents, is at least doubtful. In the absence of any evidence of more we must assume that the internal evidence formed the basis of his judgment. The document purported to be Ἀπομνημονεύματα Πέτρου, or, as moderns might term it, "Sermon Notes from the Preaching of Peter," and these were understood to be transmitted, given out, or edited "under the hand (κατά) of Mark." The Elder approves the claim implied in this title. No more can in strictness be drawn from the testimony. It seems a small result. Hereafter we must take up again this matter of the testimony, distinguishing between the original report and later inferences. For even the latter may prove instructive, however historically ill-founded. For the present we restrict ourselves to the original report.

It is disappointing to find that the distinction just made between testimony and inference deprives us at the very outset of the one positive date on which criticism has hitherto mainly depended. We can no longer say that Mark must be later than the reign of Nero, alleging the "tradition" that he wrote "after the death of Paul and Peter." Strictly speaking there was no such "tradition"; or rather it became a tradition only after having taken form originally as a mere inference drawn from the original report. Whether correct

or not is another question, which must be settled hereafter on its merits.

The history of the allegation is as follows: Irenaeus, who makes the statement, merely rests on Papias, while Papias rests on "the Elder," whose statement he interprets (rightly or wrongly) by comparison of the salutation from "Mark my son" in I Pt. 5:13. Such at least was the independent opinion, based on excellent grounds, of two such learned and conservative critics as Lightfoot and Zahn. The Elder found fault with the τάξις of Mark. Papias thinks Mark might have had a better τάξις if he could have consulted Peter, but does not explain what prevented this. Irenaeus assumes (unless he has some means of knowledge which he does not disclose, and which we must therefore disregard) that Peter and Paul, Mark's spiritual fathers, were dead. As we shall see, later apologists, anxious to claim the utmost for the Gospel in the way of apostolic authority, were reluctant to admit a post-apostolic origin. When the Elder said Mark "had been" (γενόμενος) the interpreter of Peter it did not *necessarily* imply Peter's death. The obstacle to Mark's obtaining an apostolic τάξις might be something else. Apologetic begins by alleging non-intervention on Peter's part. It ends by denying the inconvenient fact. It declares the τάξις to have been apostolic in spite of all. Peter dictated the whole Gospel just as it stands. Mark composed it "Petro narrante et illo scribente."

With these later developments of the tradition we must deal hereafter. Saving suppositions are easy to make, and are chiefly of value as showing the perplexity of the maker. We are now concerned only with the testimony of the Elder, and what may properly be deduced from it by those whose object is history rather than apologetic. From this point of view the Elder's testimony amounts to this: The Ἀπομνημονεύματα should be received as really representing the preaching of Peter. They may properly be regarded as Markan, given out in some sense under the hand or authority of Mark, who in his earlier life had indeed been associated with Peter, but later became a helper of Barnabas, and ultimately one of the leading lieutenants of Paul. The work shows the merits of careful compilation (ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν). But it consists of miscellaneous material arranged only in such order as the editor could command. The reserve of this commendation shows that to the Elder's mind the Gospel of Mark could not take the place of a full account in proper τάξις (whatever that might be) of the teachings and work of the Lord.

PART II

EVIDENCE FROM ESCHATOLOGY

CHAPTER V

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSE

The twin pillars on which the accepted date for Mark has rested for generations are the so-called "tradition" of Irenaeus, and the thirteenth chapter of the Gospel containing the Eschatological Discourse. Irenaeus was supposed to force us down to a dating after the death of Peter and Paul; the eschatology to carry us back to a date before 70 by its prediction of the doom of Jerusalem, and the coming to judgment of the Son of Man. We may call this Eschatological Discourse of Mk. 13:1-37 the Doom-chapter. At least it hinges on a saying of Jesus on the overthrow of the temple (Mk. 13:1 f.).

The former pillar has crumbled under the fire of criticism. Nothing remains of the Irenaean tradition save the adverse verdict of the Elder on "the order" of the Miscellanies. Irenaeus assumes the lack of order to be due to the "departure" of Peter and Paul. In reality the Elder seems only to be reminding the enquirer that Miscellanies are Miscellanies, which by their very nature are deficient in "order." But was the Elder's criticism well founded? And if so was the fault due to this cause? If his complaint was unjustified, or the lack of order can be accounted for on any other supposition than the disappearance of the eye-witnesses, the inference of post-apostolic date cannot be drawn. No obstacle will then remain in primitive tradition to the recent attempts to place the composition of Mark before the Roman imprisonment of Paul. What may still be properly inferred from the words of the Elder will receive consideration later. Our attention must now be turned to the other terminus. Do the contents of Mark require us to date it before 70 A.D.? Or is perhaps the contrary implied?

Antiquity has nothing to say concerning the bearing of the Eschatological Discourse on the date; but modern critics have been so confident that the occurrences of the Jewish War in 67-70 would have left a clearer mark upon the chapter had the compilation of the Gospel not preceded these startling events, that the majority have accepted the argument as conclusive, and therefore made the year 70 the lower limit in their schemes of dating. It remains to sift this argument also. If it shows no better resistance to the scrutiny of criticism than its companion pillar, the field will be left practically

without barriers. Almost any date from 40 to 95 will then be admissible. Indeed were it not for the youthfulness and inexperience of the reputed author at the time when he is described in Acts 12:12 in the house of his mother Mary in Jerusalem, and for the universal admission that Papias does not concede without abundant reason that Mark "was not a follower of the Lord, but afterward of Peter," we should perhaps find claims advanced for a date even earlier than 40. Similarly certain former advocates of dependence by Mark on Matthew (if not on Luke as well) might be still advocating a date later than 95, had not the general recognition of dependence in the reverse direction made it unavoidable to go back at least within the reign of Domitian. As matters actually stand there are none to advocate a date later than 95 or earlier than 40. But what of the supposed necessity for placing the composition of the Gospel before the destruction of the temple in August, 70?

So far as the present writer is aware there is no attempt to date the composition of Mark within the first decade after the crucifixion (30-40). It is a generally accepted view that early tradition is admissible at least to this extent, that the name of Mark was not arbitrarily attached to the Gospel, but that it actually circulated from the beginning under the authority of this unpretentious name. Had a pseudonym been sought the name of Peter would have been attached, since even in Justin's time the contents were regarded as derived from the preaching of Peter. John of Jerusalem, surnamed Mark, was, then, the real sponsor, if not personally the compiler of the work. This being so it cannot well be imagined that he undertook it while still a mere lad, living with his mother Mary in Jerusalem. For if the lad had presumed to undertake a literary work of so important a character while he himself was still a very subordinate member of a group which included the entire body of the Apostles, besides the mother and brethren of Jesus, it could hardly have become the standard and practically unrivalled gospel record. Nor can it well be imagined that in such a group there would have been no correction of the notorious duplications of Mark, such as the two accounts of the Feeding of the Multitude. The church of the Apostles and Elders in Jerusalem would not have contented themselves at this time with mere deprecation of Mark's lack of order, and done nothing to improve upon it. In view of these improbabilities we may take it for granted that the composition is at least as late as 40 A.D.

But the year 40 itself is regarded by some as not too early. The argument for this extremely early date is put most forcibly by Professor Charles C. Torrey, of Yale, though his discussion is un-

fortunately not in published form, so that references can be made only to oral communication at readings before the Society of Biblical Literature[1] and elsewhere. Nevertheless I shall hope to make no misrepresentation while citing his views. It may be well to remark that however paradoxical they may appear to New Testament critics they are advanced by a philologian of very high standing, not unused to the methods of literary and historical criticism, though better known in the Old Testament field. Torrey's inferences as to the date of Mark are based exclusively on the Doom-chapter. It will be well to consider the claim in this consistent and thoroughgoing presentation before attempting to dêal with vaguer generalizations.

Professor Torrey dismisses out of hand all theories of incorporation of earlier material, such as the famous "Apocalyptic Leaflet" (*Apokalyptisches Flugblatt*) theory of Colani and Weiffenbach, according to which the Doom-chapter represents an earlier element incorporated by the second evangelist.[2] A large number of critics,

[1] At the Meeting in December, 1919.

[2] Professor Torrey's attempt to date the Gospel of Mark some forty years earlier than ancient tradition dated it presents a curious parallel to the attempt of Baur and the Tübingen School to antedate the Book of Revelation. In both cases criticism is in the singular position of advocating a date which church tradition would have been glad to claim had its understanding of the facts permitted. The tendency among the fathers is pronounced, as the tradition passes from earlier to later forms, to carry back the date within the period recognized as that of "the teaching of the Apostles." Baur's dating of Revelation and Torrey's of Mark are alike in opposing each one of the two strongest and most elemental traditions of the second century regarding the origin of its apostolic records. That which fixed the date of Revelation "in the end of the reign of Domitian" is transmitted to us at the early date of Irenaeus (on the basis of Papias?) because debate in his time had been raging over the authenticity of the book. Baur showed more courage than discretion in setting such a tradition as this at defiance. The other tradition, as we have seen, is traceable to a much earlier date than the tradition as to the date of Revelation, and was equally vital to apologists of the second century such as Papias, to whom this at least (if not the tradition as to the date of Revelation also) is owing. It is true that Papias substitutes Matthew for Mark as his apostolic authority for "the commandments of the Lord," in accordance with the practice of his own period. But the tradition of "the Elder" to which he appeals has nothing to say about Matthew. It relates to Mark only, and treats it as a post-apostolic document. Perhaps the most curious feature of the parallel between the two critical attempts to set ancient tradition aside on the basis of the internal evidence of the document is that Professor Torrey repeats the dubious strategy of the Tübingen School in resting his case on the assumption that the book in question is a unit, in which there can be no discrimination of earlier and later elements. The Tübingen critics pointed to Rev. 11: 1 f. as sure proof that the book as a whole antedated the fall of Jerusalem. Modern critics admit that they were right so far as this particular section is concerned, but are convinced, practically without exception, that other elements of the book are so much later in date as to justify

including many of those who date the Gospel before A.D. 70, have adopted the Leaflet idea, partly, perhaps, because of the conventional threefold form of the prophecy, which divides the things to come into a Beginning of Travail (ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων, v. 8), a Great Tribulation (θλίψις μεγάλη, v. 14-20), and a manifestation of the Son of Man (v. 24-27). Whether with or without incorporation Mark has certainly constructed in the so-called "Eschatological Discourse" attached to Jesus' saying on the enduring temple (Mk. 13:2) a forecast which shows affinity in content with "prophecies" of the well-known apocalyptic type displayed, for example, in Διδ. xvi., rather than with well-authenticated sayings of Jesus. With the question of a possible Little Apocalypse incorporated by Mark we must deal later. Professor Torrey naturally throws the burden of proof on those who attempt a source-analysis of Mark, and questions whether we have the right to distinguish between the evangelist's own ideas and those of incorporated material, even if such be admitted to be present. Has not Mark in adopting such ideas made them in substance his own? We must, then, he argues, treat Mk. 13 as a unit and as an integral part of the Gospel. On this basis Torrey maintains that the Gospel of Mark was written neither earlier nor later than the year 39-40 A.D. For at this time all Judea, Christian and Jewish alike, stood in horror of an expected renewal of the catastrophe of the year 168 B.C., when Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to uproot by force the religion of Jehovah. As is well known there was actually established in the temple at Jerusalem in 168 B.C. "the abomination which maketh desolate," a heathen altar which for the time being displaced that of Jehovah and turned the sanctuary itself into a temple of idols. Professor Torrey feels convinced that the words in Mk. 13:14 "But when ye see the abomination of desolation (τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως,[3] the phrase by which the LXX render the Hebrew *shiqqutz shomem* in I Macc. 1:54) standing where he ought not" could *only* have been written just before the assassination of Caligula, on January 24, 41 A.D., when there seemed to be immediate danger that the megalomania of the insane emperor would issue in a repetition of the outrage of Antiochus.

the ancient tradition. Hence Rev. 11:1 f. is merely a built-in block of older masonry. Critics have only to show the same thing with regard to Mk. 13:14 to undermine completely Professor Torrey's attempt to set aside the tradition of antiquity regarding the date of Mark, at least equally ancient with that regarding Revelation, and still less likely than it to be based on unhistorical grounds.

[3] The Hebrew contains a word-play on the name of the divinity whose worship Antiochus sought to introduce, viz. Ζεὺς Οὐράνιος. *Shiqqutz* (LXX=βδέλυγμα, "abominable thing") is a frequent Old Testament term for 'idol' or 'false god.' *Shomem* substitutes other vowel points for *shamayim*=οὐράνιος.

From January, 41, till the destruction of the temple in August, 70, there was no immediate threat of precisely this kind, so that if the prophecy really looks to a repetition of the sacrilege of Antiochus it remained unfulfilled.

In spite of Torrey's rejection of the testimony of antiquity, and his equal rejection of modern judgments superficially based upon general impressions of remoteness from the event as it will have appeared to the eye-witnesses, there is a strong appeal in his radical redating of the Gospels. It is no mere apologetic, striving under the guise of better dating to secure firmer ground on which to build up a theory of inerrancy; for Torrey has proved that he is no such doctrinal advocate. He admits abundant legendary accretion but denies that any considerable time was required for its growth. The supposed need of decades of time to allow for such growth is in his judgment a great illusion. Even without the relatively modern instances from the quick growth of the legend of St. Francis, the Book of Acts itself witnesses to the rapidity of the development by its train of miracles attending the story of Paul, and recorded in some instances by an actual eye-witness. These exorcisms, miraculous earthquakes opening prison doors for apostles while unperceived by the rest of the city, these resuscitations from the dead, healings and escapes from death by divine intervention, these visions and revelations from the Lord, should prove that it is not length of time which determines the miraculous or non-miraculous character of the record, so much as the eye to perceive and the disposition to choose the marvellous as the approved method of divine revelation. For in some, if not most of the above instances from Second Acts, it is the author of the Diary himself, a companion and friend of Paul (though not necessarily the author Luke, the beloved physician) who tells the story. By logical inference the mere presence of miracle and legend in the narrative of Mark, assuming the fact to be such as critics maintain, would therefore count for very little in the determination of date. The story of Jesus was doubtless surrounded by a halo of miracle and legend in many circles within a single decade from the crucifixion. Does not Mark himself refer to legends already in circulation during the lifetime of Jesus, concerning the miraculous return of John the Baptist from the grave, and his working of miracles by virtue of this supernatural mission? Such is the line of argument. And doubtless Torrey does well to remind us that miracle and legend in fertile soil can grow like Jonah's gourd in a single night.

Again this early dating is not a mere ill-judged attempt to come to the support of Harnack in his defiance of well-established second-

century tradition to sustain a movement of his own under the cry "Back to tradition." In this somewhat unlooked-for alliance each critic undoubtedly welcomes the support of the other; but Harnack's ground for the early dating of Mark is merely its priority to Luke-Acts, for which he has lately claimed an origin before the death of Paul. The interest of Torrey lies in a different quarter altogether, one in which the views he has expressed in his discussions of the linguistic phenomena of Luke are diametrically opposed to those of Harnack. In his study of Lk. 1-2 for the *Berlin Academy* (Phil.-Hist. Klasse, XXVII, 1900) Harnack goes to the extreme in accounting for the Semitic coloration of the language as due to deliberate imitation of the LXX by a Greek writer; whereas Torrey accounts for it as due to a Semitic document translated by the evangelist with a fidelity so minute, and so strongly in contrast with his own style, as to deserve from modern standards to be called servile.

Two considerations determine the judgment of Torrey, and by no means lack appeal to the unbiased critic. First, it is undeniable that the Greek of Mark gives remarkably strong and pervasive evidence of translation from the Aramaic. Manifestly the simplest explanation of this phenomenon would be that the entire work was composed in Palestine for a purely Aramaic-speaking community, such as that of the Jerusalem church before the scattering caused by the persecution of Agrippa I, the well-known epoch, so often referred to in primitive tradition, "twelve years" after the crucifixion, when the Apostles were to carry their message to the Gentiles. Earlier than 42 any writing intended for the use of Christians would surely be composed in Aramaic. The Greek Mark, according to Torrey, does not differ appreciably from its Semitic pattern. Hence the Aramaic original appeared in Jerusalem A.D. 39-40.

We may take Professor Torrey's word for the fact that the Greek of Mark is true "translation-Greek." But even were it granted (contrary to the general judgment of critics) that this Gospel has suffered no material alteration since it first took written form, the fact is self-evident that an Aramaic original by no means necessarily proves an early date. In reality such fragments as we actually possess of uncanonical Aramaic gospels prove beyond question that they are secondary to and dependent upon our own canonical Greek Gospels. One might almost say that we ought rather to reverse the natural and primary assumption of Palestine as the region where the earliest attempts would be made to put the church tradition of the sayings and doings of the Lord into written form. On the contrary it would be the mission churches in Gentile lands

which would first feel the need of written records, and would have least reluctance to supply it. The more remote from the home of oral tradition, the more would a church be inclined to obtain some written embodiment of it. At least it is beyond dispute that the slowest of all the churches to admit dependence on written records was the church of the Apostles and Elders in Jerusalem; whereas the earliest known Greek Gospel is that of Mark, which we are credibly informed was composed at Rome.

Written gospels suited neither the taste, the habits, nor the interest of the apostolic mother-church. To admit them to equality of standing with their own cherished oral tradition would have been equivalent to surrender of their chief prerogative. Gospel writing may therefore well have begun in Greek-speaking communities. But not for that reason on the basis of Greek documents; and it is with *documents* that we are supposed to be dealing. Indeed that is one of the chief results of the new philological doctrine of "translation Greek." It deals the *coup de grâce* to the moribund theory of oral tradition as the basis of our present Gospels. Oral tradition undoubtedly played a part in the transmission of the record, but not the part immediately antecedent to these compositions. The Gospels *known to us* rest upon written documents. It is easy to make the assumption that an Aramaic gospel must emanate from the apostolic circle. Jerome's is the classic example of this sort of assumption. But just as Jerome mistook the Aramaic gospel in circulation since the time of Apollinarios of Laodicaea among the Nazarenes of northern Syria for the "original Gospel of Matthew written in the Hebrew tongue," so it is easy for a modern critic to assume without adequate ground that Aramaic origin implies of necessity an early date. Because the first gospel documents were written in Aramaic it does not follow that gospel documents written in Aramaic were all early. Not even origin in a Greek-speaking community such as the church in Rome removes the need for caution in this regard. Let it be assumed that Mark is a Roman gospel, according to the second-century tradition whose reliability has been defended in the volume of *Harvard Texts and Studies* to which reference has been made (vol. VII). It does not follow that we should expect the sources employed to be Greek. Rather should we say: In the compilation of a Miscellany from the Preaching of Peter for the use of the church in Rome for public teaching and preaching after the death of the Apostles, no written source, whether consisting of λόγια or διήγησις, would receive serious consideration unless its authenticity were vouched for by its language. If not Semitic, whether in language (Aramaic or Hebrew), or else as bearing the

evidence on its face of translation from the Semitic, it would be liable to meet rejection. Recognition of the fact that the material of all our Gospels gives evidence of translation (not orally, as the ancients imagined, but from written documents) should go hand in hand with appreciation of the fact that the compilers of our Gospels knew "translation Greek" as well as we, that they were certainly on their guard against "alien commandments," and that language was the first consideration in their minds, so soon as the question of authenticity was raised. Jesus and the Apostles had spoken "Hebrew." Therefore nothing was admissible, even in Greek-speaking churches, which was not either written in, or at least translated from "Hebrew." Under such conditions the argument for an early date or apostolic origin based upon the "translation Greek" of these sources loses all appreciable value. Absence of this characteristic might have excluded the writing altogether.

We shall have occasion later to see what may reasonably be inferred from the linguistic peculiarities of Mark. But the mere fact that it displays some of the crudest of "translation Greek" is so far from calling for a very early date that Wellhausen himself, to whom this discovery in application to Mark owes more than to any other philologian, insisted on a date later than 70 A.D., mainly on the ground (*Einl.* p. 87) that in the Doom-chapter (Mk. 13:29) the overthrow of Jerusalem is assumed to be a thing of the past (bereits vergangen), and is regarded as a mere sign of the approaching end of the world. Whether this chapter on the contrary really calls for a date not later than 40 for Mark as a whole we have now to enquire.

The second consideration which commends Professor Torrey's argument to the careful attention of critics is the positive and definite character of his appeal to the Doom-chapter as necessarily implying a date at the particular juncture of Caligula's proposal to desecrate the temple. The argument depends, as we saw, on the large assumption that the whole Gospel, and not merely this particular "prophecy," took its present form at that time. This will be far from obtaining the consent of most critics. But *on the assumption that the Gospel is all of one casting* there would be much to commend Professor Torrey's view.

Superficial observers will be apt to feel some surprise at the advancing of an argument based on the reference to the Abomination (*Shiqqutz*) as if it contained anything new. For the verse in question (Mk. 13:14) has always been the chief if not the only reliance of critics in attempting to find internal evidences of date. Wellhausen's inference from this section for a date *later* than 70 has

just been referred to. In a previous chapter (II, p. 15) we have cited the more usual inference of Gould and other critics for a date *earlier* than 70 from "the sign given by Jesus of the time of the destruction of Jerusalem." Less confident is the inference of Swete (*Commentary on Mark*, p. xl.) that "to some extent" the terminus *ad quem* of 70 A.D. is confirmed by "the absence of any indication that Jerusalem had fallen." Both Gould and Swete of course recognize the reference in Mk. 13:14 to the attempt of Antiochus in 168 B.C., and admit the closeness of the parallel in the attempt of Caligula in 40 A.D.

Judicious commentators will hardly insist on the verbal accuracy of the report of Jesus' prophecy. To maintain that the language of this verse predicting the appearance of the Shiqqutz in the temple was entirely uncolored by the events of 39-40, and represents only the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, would involve not only a literary miracle, but would make Jesus responsible for an unfulfilled prophecy; since in reality the temple was destroyed before the dreaded violation ever took place. One might be willing to maintain that the real reason for the close agreement between the phraseology of Mark and the situation as it appeared in 40 A.D. was not the evangelist's desire to secure exact correspondence between prediction and fulfilment, but only his strict fidelity to the historical utterance, *if* the supposition led to the inference that Jesus supernaturally foresaw what would occur. But when it involves the contrary, implying that Jesus predicted something which though apparently inevitable in the year 40, actually never did come to pass, commentators are naturally more willing to allow room for coloration by the evangelist.

The novelty of Torrey's discussion lies precisely where the subject is slurred by the caution of commentators. When Mk. 13:14 is taken as a bold and definite prediction that the Shiqqutz should be set up in the temple as the chief sign of the "great tribulation" preceding the wind-up of all things, there is no escape from the dilemma: Either Jesus made this prediction, which actually failed to come to pass; or else it is wrongly ascribed to him. In the latter case (which will be here assumed) the time of its real origin can easily be fixed. It can only be a product of the extreme tension in Palestine in 39-40 A.D., when it was momentarily expected that this supreme outrage against Jewish religious feeling would be carried through. Torrey on this point is absolutely right. The prophecy of the Shiqqutz in Mk. 13:14 cannot be an authentic utterance of Jesus, at least in its present form; for it owes this form to the events of 40 A.D.

It is not strange that commentators show no desire to meet the

dilemma, and prefer to leave a vagueness surrounding the question as to what the prediction actually was. If Jesus made only some reference of a general character to the "destruction of Jerusalem," and the evangelist himself is responsible for introducing the Shiqqutz, fallibility is revealed where it can be tolerated. Hence in such an admirable but cautious commentary as Swete's the reader is told that

> if the Lord cited the passage from Daniel, he did so doubtless in the sense which the Greek translations had long impressed upon it. Shiqqutz, which the LXX render by *βδέλυγμα*, is not limited to an object of idolatrous worship; any symbol of heathenism which outraged the religious feelings of the Jewish people might be so described. The defining genitive *ἐρημώσεως* limits us to an outrage which was the prelude of national ruin, a crisis corresponding in effect if not in circumstances with the invasion of Antiochus.

Here it is discreetly left to the reader to decide whether the events of 39-40 have actually given their own color to the language, and if so whether Jesus himself or the evangelist is responsible for it. The merit of Torrey's straightforward treatment is that it brushes away all ambiguity. Whatever ambiguity might attach to the word *βδέλυγμα* alone, in combination with the "defining genitive *ἐρημώσεως*" it cannot possibly refer to anything else than that "spoken of by Daniel the Prophet." Matthew clearly perceives the fact, and adds the reference. Professor Torrey is to be congratulated not only on his insistence on this undeniable fact, but also on his frank recognition that nothing else save the occurrences of 40 A.D. can really account for the language. He naturally argues that since the prediction, which in 40 A.D. seemed practically sure of fulfilment, after all did not come to pass, the forecast must have been actually made in 40 A.D., and at no other time. This will be the real date of the Shiqqutz prophecy, whatever basis, real or supposed, the evangelist may have had in some "word of the Lord." Mk. 13:14 cannot possibly be dated earlier than 39-40. Does it follow that the entire Gospel is no later?

Historico-critical reasons compel us to reject the authenticity of the profanation prophecy, which actually remained unfulfilled. In point of fact the kind of forecast by sign and portent which is here ascribed to Jesus contrasts strongly with his well-established attitude in regard to this very matter. Nothing can be clearer than his deprecation of such attempts to foretell the time, as contrary to the spirit of genuine repentance,[4] unless it be the obsession of the

[4] According to Montefiore, *Synoptic Gospels*, p. lxxix, the rabbis themselves counted it sinful to attempt to calculate the advent of Messiah.

false teachers and their deluded followers for just this kind of horoscope, with their "Lo here, lo there"; and their determination of the kingdom of God "by observation." Surely there are few passages in the Gospels which more unmistakably bear on their faces the mark of their alien origin than this attempt to apply the apocalypse of Daniel. If we were asked to name a passage which by its contradiction of authentic utterances, as well as by its manifest inferiority to the moral plane of the Master, might be set down as the least worthy of acceptance within the limits of Synoptic tradition, it might well be the section which includes this verse as its climax.[5]

It is true the notion of an Apocalyptic Leaflet, circulated shortly before the overthrow of Jerusalem and leading to the flight of the Church to Pella, has had great popularity with gospel critics. The idea of a brochure perhaps to be identified with the "revelation vouchsafed there to approved men before the war" of which Eusebius relates (*H.E.* III, v. 3), is romantic but difficult to align with the phenomena of the text. In the form in which this theory has usually been presented, a "prophecy" of the period *ca.* 66, as Eusebius seems to intend, published separately in written form, it will hardly bear critical scrutiny.[6] But *oral* "prophecy" in the period 39-40 is quite a different matter. As we shall see, there is a probability that an apocalyptic "word of the Lord," predicting a profanation of the temple as prelude to the End on the basis of Daniel, precisely as in this section of Mark, did appear in the year 40 at Jerusalem, and did obtain in Christian circles more or less stereotyped fixity of content. But this view rests upon quite other foundations than the "leaflet" theory.

[5] *Cf. Jesus and the Christian Religion,* by Francis A. Henry, 1923, p. 78: "So then: Jesus, whose Good Tidings told of the heavenly Father and forgiveness of sin, who called men to the higher righteousness of love and a new life in union with the Divine, whose religion was so inward and spiritual, so pure from all earthly alloy—crowns all with an eschatology so gross and so grotesque! Jesus, whose revelation of God and of man was so completely new, of whom they said, "Never man spoke like this man"—can only repeat when he touches on mankind's destiny what the vulgarest rabbi had long been preaching in the synagogue! Jesus, who knew so well the heart of man and the slow pace of human progress, who, as I have said, read the ways of God in the ways of nature, wide, gradual, uniform and sure, whose outlook on the world was ever sane, calm, clear-eyed—yields to these fantastic dreams of his misguided people, and solemnly predicts as close at hand a startling series of preternatural events which have never come to pass! One who can believe that will believe anything."

[6] See Bacon "Apocalyptic Chapter in the Synoptic Gospels," in *Journal of Biblical Literature,* XXVIII, Part i (1909), and *Beginnings of Gospel Story,* 1909, *ad loc.*

It has always been perceived, and is in fact self-evident, that we have in Mk. 13:3-37 a Little Apocalypse, whose core and kernel is the prophecy of the Shiqqutz. It now appears that Torrey is quite right in insisting that the prediction of the Shiqqutz in the temple as an outrage repeating the sacrilege of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the prelude of national ruin, can have originated at no other time than precisely the year 40 A.D. The proof lies in the fact that our first evangelist, so thoroughly well posted in things Jewish, particularly in the field of Old Testament interpretation, leaves no doubt whatever of the sense. In Mark there is a certain veil of ambiguity, as though this evangelist sought to avoid too close identification of the Shiqqutz, and the place and manner of its appearance. Matthew removes all uncertainty save for a single trait. He is definite in all save that he does not say the Shiqqutz will appear in "the" holy place, but only in "a" holy place. Otherwise he is quite specific. The Shiqqutz is a material object (ἑστός). It is that "spoken of by Daniel the prophet." There is no personification, and no vagueness, as in Mark's phrase "standing where *he* ought not." Matthew shows a definite, positive expectation of the fulfilment in the proper sense of "Daniel the prophet." Moreover, in Matthew the appearance of the Shiqqutz is a real and immediate "prelude of national ruin," a beginning of the last woes; for instead of the mere prediction of the Coming of the Son of Man "in those days, after that tribulation," which is all we find in Mark, Matthew encourages the believer to expect that it will be "immediately" thereafter.

Why have we this superior definiteness on the part of the later evangelist? It is not at all necessary to suppose that Matthew was supplied with an independent copy of the Little Apocalypse, as the "leaflet" theory assumes, to account for this clearer and more correct account of the prophecy. Matthew was perfectly familiar with the Great Apocalypse, our Book of Daniel, and accepted it as infallible authority. When he read the prediction of the Shiqqutz in Mk. 13:14 he needed no separate document to inform him that the βδέλυγμα in question was the one "spoken of by Daniel the prophet." In contrast with Mark, whose terms "imply a person or personification,"[7] Matthew knows that the Shiqqutz "spoken of by Daniel" was a material object, and the place of its appearance the temple. The temple being no longer in existence when he wrote (*cf.* Mt. 22:7 with Lk. 14:21), he could not well change Mark's "where he ought not" to "in *the* holy place" or "in *the* temple." The nearest approximation possible (and it is characteristic of the

[7] McNeile, *Comm. on Matthew*, 1915, *ad loc.*

method of Matthew to effect his changes of meaning by the most microscopic alterations) was to write "a" holy place. A desecration of this kind had actually occurred, as we shall see. Further evidence of the source of Matthew's improvements is not wanting. "Daniel the prophet" also described the "national ruin." The precise language of Daniel 12:1 is employed in Mk. 13:19. Matthew could hardly fail, along with his other systematic enhancements of the apocalyptic eschatology (*cf.* Mt. 16:28 with Mk. 9:1), to supply from Dan. 9:24-27 his own conception of the *Parousia,* and his conception includes the encouraging word "immediately" after the Great Tribulation. This, too, represents the sense, if not the language, of Daniel. We may postpone the question as to just how Matthew adjusted the Little Apocalypse of Mark to this Scriptural standard. He unquestionably had an adjustment of some sort between the two, since both Daniel and Mark were to his mind authoritative. We are concerned now only with the question of sources. The assumption of any non-Markan source save Daniel, to whom Matthew makes reference by name, is wholly gratuitous.

But the fact that Matthew clearly recognizes that the prophecy of Mk. 13:14, however veiled, is a reference to the Shiqqutz "spoken of by Daniel the prophet" is important. The clarification thus introduced suffices of itself alone to show that Torrey is right in insisting that the Prophecy has in view the events of A.D. 39-40. Matthew was of those who "read and understood." This constitutes a critical dilemma. We must either suppose that Jesus foresaw and predicted in detail a temple-desecration like that of Antiochus, *including* the assurance that it would be the "prelude to national disaster"; or we must suppose that Mark has introduced at this point as "a word of the Lord" an apocalypse whose real origin was a decade later than the crucifixion, at a time when precisely this danger seemed imminent. If ground can be shown for believing that an "apocalypse" was in fact granted at just this time to "approved men" in the Jerusalem church, and that this apocalypse, or revelation, was accepted by the Church as a real "word of the Lord," there will be small hesitation on the part of critics in choosing between the two alternatives. Of course it does not follow that the form in which the "revelation" now appears in Mk. 13:3-37 is identical, *verbatim et literatim,* with that in which it was first promulgated. We merely confirm at this time Torrey's justly positive and definite claim: The prediction of the profanation of the temple in Mk. 13:14 has no reasonable explanation unless this prophecy really did originate in the year 39-40, and really was accepted by the Church, then still centralized in Jerusalem, as "a word of the

Lord,'' that is, a communication from heaven (*cf.* Rev. 1:1). But if this applies to Mark, much more does it apply to Matthew, who is far more definite and specific. If Matthew can have taken this prophecy from an earlier source (Mark or the ''leaflet''), the same may be said of Mark.

This result is already fatal to the second of the ''twin pillars'' of accepted critical datings for Mark. If the prophecy of the Shiqqutz, the very heart and core of the Eschatological Discourse, was already current in Jerusalem circles in 40 A.D. as a ''word of the Lord,'' it doubtless continued to circulate thereafter, modified in form as events required. One cannot argue that the particular form in which it is set forth in Mk. 13 must be earlier than 70, unless this Markan form displays (in the language of Swete) a conspicuous ''absence of any indication that Jerusalem had already fallen when it was written.'' An argument for date is already verging on disaster which depends for its cogency on the ''absence'' of certain expected indications, especially when those expected indications similarly fail to appear in documents such as Hebrews and Clement's long Epistle to the Corinthians. There is no need to mention other writings later than 70 where one expects (but fails to find) reference to the fall of Jerusalem. For while to moderns familiar with Josephus this event looms very large on the horizon, it scarcely affects the relations of Church and Synagogue in the first century. We ought rather to ask whether the argument should not be reversed, as Wellhausen reverses it. Are there not indications, less ''conspicuous'' indeed than Luke's but not less real, that Jerusalem had already fallen? For Wellhausen does not stand alone in denying the alleged ''absence'' from Mark of reflections from the events of 66-70. He holds that such reflections *have* colored Mark's version of the prophecy, and defines what they really are. If the reflections are really present, Mark will only differ in degree from Luke, of whose version of the Eschatological Discourse Swete justly remarks:

> What this new βδ. ἐρημώσεως (repeating that of Antiochus) was, St. Luke, *taught by the event,* plainly tells us; for instead of ὅταν ἴδητε τὸ βδ. κτλ. (Mt., Mk.,) he writes ὅταν ἴδ. κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἰερουσαλήμ. The presence of the Roman army round the Holy City was itself a βδέλυγμα of the worst kind, and one which foreboded coming ruin. The words of Daniel seemed to find a second fulfilment; Rome had taken the place of Syria. *Cf.* Jos. *Ant.* x. 11. 7 καὶ δὴ ταῦτα ἡμῶν συνέβη παθεῖν τῷ ἔθνει ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς . . . τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ὁ Δανίηλος καὶ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀνέγραψε καὶ ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐρημωθήσεται.

Luke (*pace* Harnack) *is* ''taught by the event'' (and perhaps by

Josephus) in his modifications of the *Eschatological Discourse* of Mark. The question we shall ultimately have to consider is whether Mark was not *also* "taught by the event" (though *not* by Josephus) in his modifications of the Little Apocalypse. If so we have a positive proof of date *later* than 70. In this respect much may be learned toward the date of Mark from the famous Eschatological Discourse. The mere "absence" of teachings from "the event" (which after all only means our own failure to perceive them) would prove very little indeed; for this absence (real or fancied) is a constant phenomenon of Christian writings known to be but little later than 70 A.D., in which reflections of the fall of Jerusalem might well be expected. Their seeming absence is inconclusive. Their presence, on the contrary, if demonstrable, will be decisive for a date later than 70 A.D. The later dating will at least apply to the adaptation, though we continue to date the prophecy itself in its original form in 40 A.D.

The question of date after 70 may be postponed. Our present enquiry should be whether the Gospel of Mark contains any indication of date later than 40. Our immediate concern is with the Little Apocalypse, where any changes to be expected as a consequence of teaching by "the event" would most probably begin to appear. For the cloud which loomed so black and fateful at the end of 40 had already most unexpectedly cleared away in the first months of 41, giving place to the sunniest skies which Israel had known since the glorious days of the Maccabees. New and unexpected disasters came, it is true, with the death of Agrippa I in the summer of 44. These grew thicker and darker in successive years until the supreme catastrophe of 70. But if there was occasion at all for change in the form of the prophecy in consequence of failure to correspond with the event, it was in the years immediately succeeding its original promulgation, when the assassination of Caligula suddenly dissipated the danger, and the accession of Agrippa I to the title of "king," and soon after to all the dominion and sovereignty of his grandfather Herod the Great, carried the Pharisees to triumph beyond their fondest dreams. If Mark contains elsewhere nothing to indicate a date later than 40 A.D. we may perhaps dispense ourselves from the task of scrutinizing the Eschatological Discourse to see if the incorporated prophecy does not bear the marks of adjustment to this extraordinary reversal of conditions. If we find elsewhere clear indications of a date later than 40 we may well expect that some trace of adjustments will appear in the Eschatological Discourse also, perhaps traces sufficient to bring down the date of the work as it stands beyond the overthrow of Jerusalem.

In any event the conventional dating of Mark between the death of the Roman Apostles (*ca.* 67) and the overthrow of Jerusalem (70) is thoroughly discredited. Both termini are untrustworthy. The ancients who supplied the earlier terminus were merely trying to account for the criticism of the Elder that the work lacked "order," and the moderns who supplied the latter by reasoning from the "absence of any indication that Jerusalem had already fallen," were alike drawing inferences from data which require to be tested again. If the unexpected deliverance of the year 41 has left no perceptible marks on the Little Apocalypse, we surely cannot reason to an early date from the apparent "absence" of similar marks of the catastrophe of the year 70. We are thrown back upon the internal evidence. The data of the Gospel itself must decide. All barriers are down from 40 to 95. It remains for critics to fix a date as reliably as they can within these limits by accepted methods. The testimony of antiquity must be reappraised by comparison with the contents of the work, and the internal indications, such as they are, must be scrutinized anew. It remains to be seen whether results can be thus attained which will place the difficult problem of gospel origins on a surer foundation than hitherto.

CHAPTER VI

PROOF AND PROBABILITY

From the nature of the case the critic must rely upon the internal evidence of a document to determine the upper limit of date. Extracts from the work and references to it by later writers will establish the lower limit beyond question. But the mere absence of mention in later documents is powerless to prove non-existence. Such negative witness is not wholly valueless, but those who hold to an earlier date will invoke at once the principle of the unreliability of arguments *e silentio*. Evidences contained within the document itself are almost the sole recourse for fixing the date after which the writing must have appeared, and by sufficient insistence on special treatment it is possible so to weaken even these as to make them practically unavailable. If the foreknowledge of Jesus and the exactitude of the record are placed sufficiently high, no amount of evidence in the record of acquaintance with known events will prove a subsequent date, for no room at all is left for alteration by adjustment to the event. But such dogmatic assumptions are no longer permissible. Reasonable criticism will admit an unusual degree of foresight on the part of One greater than all the prophets; but unlimited drafts on a doctrine of prescience on the part of the Speaker and exactitude on the part of the reporter of the saying make enquiry useless. They increase the burden of proof for the critic to the point of excluding historico-critical methods altogether. Either, then, the ordinary rules for predictive utterance and its transmission must be followed, as in other documents; or it must be frankly admitted that dates for the gospel record are not established by critical methods, but are assumed without verification. The present chapter will be devoted to a few illustrative instances, showing the limitations of internal evidence due to difficulties such as the proving of a universal negative, assumptions of peculiar foreknowledge or exactitude of the record, and the like. Even inconclusive arguments call for some consideration, and must be allowed for in the final verdict.

Certain *prima facie* considerations making a date for Mark so early as 40 A.D. improbable will no doubt at once suggest themselves. Some have already been hinted at in referring to composition by the lad John, son of Mary the hostess of the Church, at a

period before the dispersion of its leaders through the persecution of Herod Agrippa (42 A.D.). Such a supposition appears improbable in itself and is difficult to reconcile with the internal phenomena; for these not only suggest a long-continued process of growth, involving the use of partly duplicate sources, but fully justify the Elder's complaint of lack of "order." Assuming Markan authorship, the earlier the date the greater the improbability.

Objections *e silentio* are easily drawn from the Pauline Epistles, written during the decade 50-60, ten years later than the earliest assumed authorship of the Gospel, five years after Paul and Barnabas had taken the young evangelist as the companion of their great missionary journey to Cyprus and Anatolia. These Epistles come from the very midst of the period when, after temporary separation from Paul to accompany Barnabas, Mark reappears as a trusted follower and fellow-worker with Paul (Col. 4:10; II Tim. 4:11). The absence of any indication, even the smallest, that Paul knew of the existence of such a writing, to say nothing of using or commending it, shares the weakness of all arguments *e silentio,* but it presents no small difficulty to supporters of the extreme early date.

These objections to a date within either decade, 40-50, or 50-60, are not inconsiderable. They will claim consideration later, in connection with our constructive study, involving revaluation of the testimony of the Elder, and an enquiry into the relation between Mark and the Pauline Epistles and teaching. But if the burden of proof imposed on the critic be made sufficiently great, as explained above, they need not prove fatal. For the present we may limit ourselves to specific data, including an instance regarded by Wellhausen as the only passage of the Gospel, outside the Eschatological Discourse, which affords a clear indication of date. Inconclusive as they are, the cumulative effect of these data must be allowed for. The Eschatological Discourse itself must be reserved for more extended treatment.

(1) The series of teachings on Renunciation and Reward which occupy the section of Mark descriptive of the Journey to Martyrdom from Caesarea Philippi to Jerusalem, culminates in the offer of James and John to share Jesus' baptism of death and cup of martyrdom (Mk. 10:35-45). Disregarding the apparent sacramentarian interest which has here conjoined two sayings, one on the baptism of suffering to which Jesus is looking forward (Lk. 12:50), the other a simple reference to the cup he must drink (*cf.* Mt. 20:22 f.), we may properly ask whether this reference to the martyrdom of the two sons of Zebedee is likely to have been inserted in

the Gospel before *either* of them had (in the language of one who claims to be reporting Papias' reference to the fulfilment of the prophecy) "fulfilled Christ's prophecy concerning them and their own confession and undertaking on his behalf."[1]

The martyrdom of James marked the epoch of the Dispersion of the Twelve (42 A.D.). His brother John was still living, one of the "Pillars" of the Jerusalem church, when Paul went up with Barnabas for a settlement of the issue regarding his mission to the Gentiles (*ca.* 46). The younger son of Zebedee may have met the martyr fate which Papias and some other early reporters ascribe to him at the hands of "the Jews" in 62 A.D., in company with the *other* James, brother of the Lord and head of the Jerusalem church. The matter is disputed. Just when (if ever) this prophecy was fulfilled in the case of John remains doubtful. There is no doubt whatever regarding the fate of James in 42 (Acts 12:1).

Let us not deny the abstract possibility that Jesus might have foreseen this martyr fate of the two brothers, nor the possibility that the prediction (for which in 40 A.D. there seemed as yet to be no present occasion) might be recorded at that time by an evangelist who certainly leaves many sayings quite unrecorded. Both suppositions are possible. But the critic must measure relative probabilities. The real question is whether if we found the narrative in any other, uncanonical, writing, we should not say at once: "Here is plain evidence that the writer knew of the martyrdom of James in 42 and probably that of John also. He records the prediction because it was confirmed by the event." The inference may perhaps be avoided if we make special rules for canonical writings not applicable to others. But the cost is too high. If we claim exemption from the ordinary rules of criticism we must consent to renounce critical authority for whatever date we finally do assume.

(2) Fairness to advocates of a very early date compels us to admit that the mere presence of legendary features in the narrative is a very unreliable criterion. We have already adverted to the ease with which love of marvel can find opportunity for legendary development in writings of the nature of our Gospels; for the very object of these is to "prove the doctrine all divine" (largely by dint of miracle), and historico-critical discrimination was conspicuous by its absence even from secular historians of this period. For the Christian preacher the rule was the same as for the teacher of *haggada* in the Synagogue: "All things for edification" (I Cor. 14:26).

[1] Georgius Hamartolus, quoting "the second book" of Papias' *Interpretations.*

Too much weight should therefore not be attached to the unhistorical character of Markan narratives such as the Cursing of the Fig Tree, the two accounts of the Feeding of the Multitude, the Walking on the Sea, and the Gerasene Demoniac. Geographical and chronological inaccuracies may have some weight, but in view of the uncertainty attending the sense to be given to the preposition "according to" (κατά) in the title, these too are inconclusive. They contribute something, but are not decisive on the question of date.

Even the relatively unhistorical attitude toward the movement of the Baptist, as compared with that assumed in the Q material, proves no more than a *relative* inferiority of Mark in this particular to the Second Source. It is quite true that to our second evangelist John the Baptist has no independent significance. He is merely Elias who must anoint the Christ before he can be made known, whether to Israel, or even to himself; for so Trypho the Jew also points out to Justin in the *Dialogue*. Mark depicts John the Baptist solely from this depreciatory point of view. He is the Forerunner of the Christ, Elias *redivivus,* not the inaugurator of a great prophetic revival in Israel on his own account, as in Q, which describes John's perplexity when told of "the works of the Christ." Hence the story of the Baptist's martyrdom, interjected in Mk. 6:17-29 *à propos* of Herod's Exclamation at hearing of Jesus' mighty works, should not be held too strictly to account. The narrative is embellished not only with traits drawn from the story of Esther, but patently colored by the story of Elijah, plotted against by Jezebel. H. J. Holtzmann, as is well known, characterized it as "the pattern of legend," comparing it with the sober and dispassionate account of the prophet's death given by Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII, v. 2). It is strange to hear of Antipas as a "king" offering half of the kingdom which was not his, to a "little maid" (κοράσιον) who was really a widow some twenty-eight years of age, and either already, or very shortly after, the wife of the "Philip" who here appears as injured husband of Herodias! It is also strange to hear of a birthday feast given by "Herod" to "the great ones of Galilee," consequently in the palace at Tiberias, from which a "guard" (σπεκουλάτωρ) is sent to bring the head of the prophet in prison at *Machaerus,* several days' journey away. (The place of imprisonment is given by Josephus, who has no motive for misrepresenting the facts.) One wonders what takes the Judean prophet away from his commission to preach repentance to Israel, assigning him to a sort of court chaplaincy in the palace in Galilee, where he is kept by the profligate Edomite-Samaritan Tetrarch in a manner suggestive

of Paul at Caesarea, prisoner of the corrupt and profligate Felix. Why should John leave his baptism of repentance preached to Israel in the wilderness of Judaea, to rebuke the adulterous relation of Antipas and Herodias in Galilee? The omissions of Luke and the corrections of Matthew both bear significant witness that (to the mind of these later evangelists at least) Mark's narrative falls considerably short of historicity.

But again, does the lack of historicity necessarily prove a late date? All that can reasonably be claimed is an improbability. The young man Mark, if he actually wrote at a period but shortly after the events of 36-37, which according to Josephus had recalled to the popular mind the recent martyrdom of the prophet, will have shown himself highly receptive to popular tales illustrative of the vengeance of God on impiety, and far less acquainted than we should expect with the real nature of the Baptist's movement. He is at least much below the Second Source or his contemporary Josephus in this respect.

It is possible, however, that the distinctive feature of Mark's story of the Baptist's fate, a feature quite foreign to Old Testament story (for Jezebel is not accused of adultery), and at the same time alien to the real calling of John, is not due to the unaided imagination of the evangelist. It cannot be accounted for as a reflection of the scene of Paul before Festus (Acts 25:13 ff.); for while the relations of the notorious Bernice with her brother Agrippa II were perhaps already regarded as incestuous, nothing appears of this in the story of Acts. Unlike the Baptist, Paul seems to have reserved his criticisms on the morals of Bernice for a more propitious occasion.

But in Dio Cassius we do find a strict parallel to Mark's scene of public denunciation of the adulterous pair, followed by the beheading of the bold preacher of morality. *It is an occurrence of the year 75 A.D. at Rome,* in which the actors are three: (1) Titus, fresh from his triumph over Jerusalem, living in open adultery with (2) the same notorious Bernice, daughter of the idolized Agrippa I and sister of Agrippa II, Judaea's nominal "king"; lastly (3) two cynic reformers who expiate, the one by scourging, the other with his life, their bold attempt to express the popular contempt and hatred for this union. Has Mark's story of the Fate of John been colored by this event?

It was indeed not only a bitter humiliation for the conquered Jews, but (in spite of the sympathies of Dio Cassius on the side of Titus) so distasteful even to Roman morals that Juvenal alludes to the scandal. Titus himself yielded to popular outcry to the extent

of putting this Jewish mistress away. But the story should be told in Dio Cassius' own words (*History* LXV, xv.):

Bernice was at the height of her power and consequently came to Rome along with her brother Agrippa. The latter was accorded pretorial honors, while she dwelt in the palace and cohabited with Titus. She expected to be married to him and behaved in all respects as his wife. But when he perceived that the Romans were displeased at the situation (a Jewess as empress!) he sent her away; for various reports were in circulation (*cf.* Juvenal *Satire* VI, 155 f.). At this time too certain sophists of the cynic school managed somehow to slip into the city: first Diogenes entered the theatre when it was full of men and denounced them (Titus and Bernice) in a long, abusive speech, for which he was flogged; after him Heras, who showed no greater disposition to be obedient, gave vent to many senseless bawlings in the true cynic (dog-like) manner, and for this behavior was beheaded.

One cannot, of course, dogmatically maintain that the diatribes of street preachers at Rome in 75 against Titus and Bernice, followed by scourging and beheading, have had any influence upon Mark's account of the martyrdom of John, even if the scene of the prophet denouncing the adulterous pair be legendary. This particular trait of the story in which Mark parallels the Roman incident is indeed out of keeping with the ministry of John as otherwise known, and the whole anecdote undeniably abounds with unhistorical features. But who can say that it was precisely the occurrence of 75 A.D. which led Mark to this specific explanation of John's imprisonment, rather than general popular resentment at the murderous impiety of Antipas? The coincidence is somewhat striking, but only the cumulative evidence of several such would compel the inference that Mark was composed later than 75 A.D.

(3) According to Mark the conspiracies against Jesus' life proceed from a combination of "Pharisees *and Herodians*" (Mk. 3:6; 12:13). In addition he explains the warning of Jesus which in Lk. 12:1 is given as "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees" and in Mt. 16:5, 11 f. as "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and *Sadducees*" (*cf.* Mt. 3:7; 16:1) to be a warning against "the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of *Herod*" (Mk. 8:15). As shown by the present writer in a recent article (*Journal of Biblical Literature* XXXIX (1920), p. 102 ff.), the witness of Epiphanius regarding these "Herodians" that they applied the prophecy "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah" (Gen. 49:10) to "Herod" is anything but "absurd."[2] On the contrary this represents pre-

[2] Lake and Foakes-Jackson, *Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. I, p. 119.

cisely the hope of Jewish nationalists of the Pharisean party, such as Josephus, in the time of Agrippa I.

It was, in fact, the key-note of the policy of this wily adventurer to win over the Pharisees to his support by a great parade of devotion to the Law, and constant emphasis upon his descent (on his mother's side) from the Hasmonean priest-kings. By constant harping on his Jewish descent he hoped to prove to this leading element of his people that with him as king the sceptre (which was fast slipping into the hands of Rome) would in reality not "depart from Judah." Agrippa's attack upon the Church, as already pointed out, was a significant step in this policy of conciliation of the Pharisees, which according to Acts 12:3 met immediate response. Had the story of Mark, depicting the "Pharisees *and Herodians*" as conspiring against the life of Jesus, been cast in the days of Herod Agrippa I, instead of the days of Herod Antipas, son of Herod, the Edomite usurper, and Malthace, the Samaritan woman, nothing could have been more natural. True, we cannot say that such an alliance was impossible in the earlier period. But three considerations stand opposed: (1) In the words of the learned editors of the volume just referred to, "there is no other evidence as to the existence of a party, much less a sect, of Herodians at this time." (2) In view of the intense hatred of all loyal Jews for the Herod family down to the adoption by Agrippa I of his pro-Pharisean policy it is difficult to see how such a sect or party could exist, or if they did exist how they could enter into friendly alliance with the Pharisees. (3) In all three instances of Mark's suggestion of this combination his representation is altered or omitted by both later Synoptists. The sole exception is Mt. 22:16, where no correction of Mark is made. It is hardly matter for surprise that Cheyne, in his article *s.v.* "Herodians" in *Encycl. Bibl.* should say bluntly of the occurrence of the term in Mk. 3:6: "This is evidently a mistake. In the country of the Tetrarch Antipas there could not be a party called 'Herodians.'"

By speaking of Antipas as a "king" in Mk. 6:14 ff. this evangelist shows that his knowledge of the Herods and their dynastic failures and successes is far from accurate. The question cannot well be kept back, in view of the three considerations just mentioned, whether Mark has not antedated the alliance between Pharisees and "Herodians," carrying back Agrippa's Jewish party along with his title. If so we can hardly suppose the Gospel to have been written a year before the pro-Pharisaic policy of Agrippa was developed. In fact the very domicile of Mark in the persecution of 41-42

was the refuge of the Church against these same assailants "the Pharisees with the Herodians" (Acts 12:11 f.). If the connection between John surnamed Mark and this Gospel be at all close, a date comparatively remote from these matters of Palestinian concern will be more probable than one in the very midst of the intrigues of Agrippa, or immediately after.

But again the burden of proof is too heavy. The non-existence of a party of "Herodians" in Galilee in the time of Jesus is beyond the power of the historical critic to prove. Once more the student must be satisfied with cumulative probabilities. Future historical critics may suspect the historicity of popular writers of our own time who speak of Democrats and "Republicans" in the period of Andrew Jackson. But to *prove* that there was no party called Republican at that time might be found difficult twenty centuries later.

The three instances given will suffice to make clear the difficulty of establishing a definite date for Mark. References and employments make it certain that it had already circulated widely before 100. But the silence of earlier writers is inconclusive. Internal evidence suggests here and there acquaintance with events which occurred as late as 75. But prophecies apparently adjusted in form to the event may only repeat with remarkable exactitude a prediction which was closely verified. If the evangelist seems to show too little knowledge of affairs which would be well known to one writing under the conditions of an early date, it may always be that the critic's own knowledge is at fault. He is required to prove a universal negative. If, on the contrary, Mark shows a knowledge too great for one not "taught by the event" this also will be indecisive to some, because he may be supposed to rest on supernatural prescience. If the internal evidence of this Gospel had afforded clear references to events contemporaneous with the work itself our problem would never have arisen. We have no right to expect it will be solved by sudden discovery, as it were by catching the evangelist napping in some anachronism. It can only be solved by long and patient enquiry, and not without impartial weighing of pros and cons. The conditions are such that strict demonstration is unattainable. It will always continue to be *possible* to date this Gospel as early as 40 or as late as 95. The most that can be expected is a preponderance of evidence in favor of some date between these two extremes. The present work is addressed to readers who seek the guidance of criticism and are willing to submit to the preponderance of evidence.

For constructive enquiry we have four main lines of approach:

(1) The Eschatology, to be studied in the light of modifications of current Christian doctrine since the crisis of 40 A.D.

(2) Traces of influence from the Epistolary Literature down to the period of Hebrews and First Peter. Traces of Pauline teaching, if not of the Epistles themselves, should be discoverable if really existent. They would at least advance the upper limit of date some twenty years beyond 40 A.D.

(3) Evidences of sources and structure. It is generally admitted that we do not possess the Gospel in its earliest form. Its proper ending has disappeared, whether by accident or design, and has been replaced by appendices in some manuscripts, by narratives inconsistent with Mark's data in later Gospels. We must bestow the name "Gospel of Mark" on the work as known to ourselves. The question of date applies to this. But through what stages of development this ultimate composition has passed, from sources to Ur-Markus, and from Ur-Markus to the present form, is one of the moot points of criticism which has no small bearing on the question of date.

(4) Among the phenomena bearing on sources and structure should perhaps be counted the evidences of translation from Aramaic. These, however, are so distinct in their nature as to fall into a class by themselves, though in so far as they bear upon questions of date and origin the problem is only as to whether the translation is by one hand throughout, affecting uniformly the entire Gospel, so as to indicate a direct transfer of the work as a whole from some Aramaic-speaking community; or whether the phenomena may not be accounted for by selection from material of various date and derivation brought into uniformity of diction by the final redactor. In the former case a somewhat different view might have to be taken of the data referred to under (3). In the latter case the evidences of stratification, indicating a more or less prolonged period of growth before the Gospel came to its present form, would only be confirmed. We can only bespeak the reader's patience in this slow approach to a conclusion by preponderant evidence, in view of the basic importance of the question.

Our more detailed study of the internal evidence must begin with the Markan Eschatology. But in returning to this enquiry we must bear in mind that indications of a date later than 70 A.D. are not wholly wanting elsewhere in Mark. It is the rigorous maintenance of the distinction between Proof and Probability which compels the fair-minded critic to treat these evidences as subsidiary only.

Individually they are inconclusive. Jointly they may still be so. Taken together with all the remainder of the evidence they may establish a critical conclusion of reasonable certainty.

CHAPTER VII

CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY IN THE PAULINE PERIOD

Our preliminary study of the Eschatological Discourse of Mark has shown that while the date 40 A.D. can be definitely fixed as a *terminus a quo* for this Gospel, the *terminus ad quem* remains highly uncertain. In fact the attempt (often still made) to fix it prior to the overthrow of Jerusalem (an attempt which Wellhausen among others would reverse, maintaining that the evangelist looks back upon the events of 66-70 as "already past") is at least illusive. We may not surrender at once to the somewhat dogmatic decision of Wellhausen, but we can no longer concur with the easy-going inferences of earlier commentators who base their arguments upon an alleged "absence of any indication that Jerusalem had already fallen."

A Little Apocalypse or "prophecy" certainly came into circulation among the churches, whether in oral or written form, during the crisis of 40 A.D., its distinctive feature being a prediction of the desecration of the temple as a sign of the Coming. This profanation prophecy, perhaps approved from the beginning as "a word of the Lord," has found embodiment in the Eschatological Discourse of Mark (Mk. 13:3-37). Has it, or has it not, in its Markan form, discernible traces of adaptation to subsequent events? In the Lukan transcript (Lk. 21:7-36) it is generally admitted that the striking changes, particularly the alteration in form of the "abomination" (Shiqqutz) prophecy, are due to the fact that this evangelist has been "taught by the event." Mark, much less careful in historical statements than Luke, and perhaps lacking historical records available to the later evangelist, has not these more striking adaptations. But does he really present the Little Apocalypse in unaltered form; or can we point to instances in Mark also where the original meaning appears to have been modified or obscured? A proper answer to this question will require some scrutiny of developments in Christian eschatology between the crisis of 40 A.D. under Caius, and its renewal under Nero.

The most striking event of this period, so far as eschatology is concerned, was the sudden passage of Jewish (and for a brief time also of Christian) feeling in 40-41 A.D. from the nadir of despair

to the zenith of exultation. Immediately after this the Church reached in 42 A.D. what it long continued to regard as the decisive epoch of its history. We may call it the Epoch of the Dispersion. If the dispersion of the year 42 produced no traceable effect on Christian teaching, it may be held that the Little Apocalypse also, brought forth by the agony of suspense in the last months of Caligula's reign, has remained as it were encysted in the Eschatological Discourse of Mk. 13, untouched, unaltered, unaffected by the course of events. In that case it is surely hopeless to expect that discoverable marks should remain of the crisis of 66-70, a crisis of much less concern to the early Church, however important in modern eyes. Surely one cannot argue an early date for the Eschatological Discourse (Mk. 13) from the "absence of any indication that Jerusalem had already fallen," if at the same time one maintains that the Little Apocalypse passed unchanged through the crisis of the Epoch of the Dispersion, leaving no marks by which the most careful criticism could detect the "teaching of the event." For according to the majority of critics the profanation prophecy was at the time not in written, but only in oral, form. In short one must either hold with Torrey to the exact date 39-40 A.D. for the entire Gospel, rejecting all pretence of detection by criticism of reflections of subsequent events in the record, whether in the earlier or later crisis; or else one must make critical search for such marks of transmission. Only, if the prophecy really originated in 39-40, we must search in the Discourse for the marks not of one adjustment only, but also for those of a possible second, in 66-70 and later, when for the *second* time the expected fulfilment of "Daniel the prophet" had failed to take place.

For proper determination of the fundamental question, whether such reflections of current events are, or are not, traceable in the record, two preliminary enquiries will be found needful. We must ascertain as closely as our sources allow (1) what Christian feeling was toward the events in question. (2) We must also form the most reliable and definite possible conception of that Little Apocalypse, or prophecy of temple-profanation, which was promulgated *ca.* 40 A.D. as a "word of the Lord," unless we are to regard it as an erroneous forecast made by Jesus himself. Thereafter (3) we may attempt to determine from the Eschatological Discourse in its various forms, in comparison with all other means of determining the original content of the Apocalypse, what changes (if any) have been introduced, whether by Mark or his predecessors, to accommodate the prophecy to events as they transpired.

(1) It has already been intimated that ancient and modern feel-

ing differ somewhat as to the relative importance attached to the two periods of crisis, that which ancient tradition established as a kind of epoch, "twelve years" after the crucifixion and resurrection (that is, 42 A.D.[1]); and that which to moderns, familiar with the vivid story of Josephus, stands out as the real period of the downfall of unbelieving Israel and the starting point of a new era of Christianity as a completely denationalized faith. Traces undoubtedly exist in early Christian writings of the great catastrophe related by Josephus. One of these, Mt. 22:7, we shall have occasion to refer to presently. Another is (in the judgment of most critics) the Eschatological Discourse in its Lukan form, whether this evangelist has been taught "by the event" only, or (as many hold) has the additional advantage of having read Josephus. But all students of early Christian literature will certainly admit that we have surprisingly little reverberation of the catastrophe. The destruction of the temple and the disastrous issue of the rebellion seem to have left (so far as Christian writings are concerned) scarcely a ripple. In point of fact it was the Synagogue, not the temple, which was the real opponent of the Church; and the effect of the disappearance of the worldly-minded Sadducees, with their outworn sacrificial ritual in the temple, largely divorced from the true religious life of the people, was really on the whole to strengthen essential Judaism. Pharisaism, the religion of scribe and Synagogue, now for the first time absorbed all the remaining energies of Israel's religious life. The Sadducee and the Zealot having perished in the national catastrophe, scribe and Pharisee had free course and were glorified. Our evangelists when they think of Judaism mean the Judaism of the Synagogue. Temple, Zealot, and Sadducee come in occasionally by way of archaism; but not even so does the reader obtain a clear conception of what a Sadducee actually was. He appears in Acts as the adherent of a heretical sect, much as in Hegesippus and the heresiologues.

The simplest explanation, then, of the comparative indifference of church writers to the destruction of the temple in 70, is that to their mind the parting of the ways had taken place thirty years before. Pharisaism, not the Sadducean hierocracy, was the real foe of Christianity. And this was well understood. For traces are still abundant of the effect produced upon the church in Jerusalem by the alliance of the "Pharisees and Herodians" against them; when Agrippa, on his accession in 41, made it the key-note of his policy

1 Ancient chronographers dated the crucifixion in "the year of the two Gemini," that is, the consuls Lucius Rubellius and Caius Fufius Geminus (=29-30 A.D.).

to court favor with these adherents of the Law, and signalized this policy by attacking the Church. By a memorable coincidence the martyrdom of James, son of Zebedee, followed by the release of Peter when about to share the fate of James, occurred exactly "twelve years" from the crucifixion. A whole group of early authorities, beginning with the *Preaching of Peter*,[2] report as a command of Jesus "after twelve years go forth into the world, that no man may say 'we did not hear.' " The alleged command is of course only the reflection of what actually took place. Not only Peter (Acts 12:17), but others also, including probably some of the "brethren of the Lord" (I Cor. 9:5), now "went forth into the world" proclaiming the glad tidings. Luke, it is true, adopts a slightly different chronology,[3] taking the *death* of Agrippa (44 A.D.) and the missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas from Antioch (45-46) as the beginning of the Era of the Dispersion. We must also allow for some reaction in 45-46 when the Pillars left Gentile missions to Paul and Barnabas (Gal. 2:1-10). But Petrine tradition even earlier than Luke claimed Peter as the real Apostle to the Gentiles (Acts 15:7), Jerusalem as the point of departure, and "twelve years" after the crucifixion as marking the "going forth into the world."

To Christian minds the disasters which fell stroke upon stroke after 42 A.D. on Jerusalem and Judea, beginning with the sudden death of Agrippa the persecutor, darling of the Pharisees, in 44, followed by an unprecedented famine (45-46), civil war, and hopeless subjection under the yoke of Rome (46), were "successive punishments sent upon the Jews."[4] They were looked upon by Christians as divine confirmations of the "command." Paul, who writes to the Thessalonians very shortly after (50 A.D.) on how "the wrath (of God) has at last come upon" this faithless people, "who both slew the prophets and the Lord Jesus, and drave out us," clearly reflects the contemporary feeling of the Church as a whole. It held that the day of grace for Israel was over in 42, when Pharisees and Herodians, with the general approval of "the Jews" (Acts 12:3), "drave out" the preachers of the new gospel, and reaped "the wrath" which they had so long stored up against themselves. After this the siege and overthrow of Jerusalem, or (as Mt. 22:7 expresses

[2] *Ca.* 100. For other traces of this early epoch see Harnack, *Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur,* I, p. 240 f. and Bacon, "Wrath unto the Uttermost" in *Expositor,* VIII, 143 (Nov. 1922), p. 373.

[3] See Bacon, "The Chronological Scheme of Acts" in *Harvard Theological Review,* Vol. XIV (April, 1921).

[4] An ancient catena on Jn. 3:36 refers to the succession of catastrophes from 44 to 70 in these terms.

it in an addition of this evangelist to the parable of the Slighted Invitation) the wrath of the King who "sent forth his armies and destroyed those murderers and burned up their city," was only the final catastrophe. The overthrow of A.D. 70 marked the inevitable end, but the first decisive steps on the downward path were taken by the nation as a whole in the crisis of 41-42.

(2) The same epistle of the year in which Paul voices the feeling of Christians generally toward "the Jews" (I Thess. 2:14-16) as under "the wrath," makes direct reference to "a word of the Lord" of a highly apocalyptic character. So thoroughly does this "word" partake of the usual tone of "prophecy" as exhibited in early Christian documents, and so little does it conform to the well-authenticated utterances of Jesus in his earthly teaching, that our leading exegetes, such as von Dobschütz and Frame, regard it as far more probable that the term "a word of the Lord" is here employed not with reference to sayings reported from the Galilean teaching of Jesus, but to utterances of church "prophets," who claimed to speak, and were understood to speak, by "the spirit of Jesus" (Acts 16:7; Rev. 1:1; 19:10). In other terms Paul in I Thess. 4:15-17 is giving for the "comfort" of members of the Thessalonian church, a Little Apocalypse. The substance of this "prophecy" was as follows:

> The Lord himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.

The citation is of course at this point (I Thess. 4:15-17) restricted to those elements of the prophecy which would serve to comfort disciples in Thessalonica in anxiety as to the participation of certain departed friends in the expected messianic kingdom. How much more there was of similar character we have little means of judging. However, the supposition is reasonable that the distinctive peculiarities of the two Thessalonian Epistles, both of them concerned with the same conditions and problems, both having eschatological questions as their sole doctrinal interest, are in some measure due to this "word of the Lord." Silvanus, who appears as joint author with Paul, had lately come from Jerusalem, having joined Paul in Antioch. In Acts 15:32 he is expressly declared to have had the gift of "prophecy." Doubts have indeed been raised against the Pauline authorship of Second Thessalonians, principally on the ground of its eschatology, of which no further trace appears in Paul save the bare word "Beliar" in II Cor. 6:15. But all recent

critics have nevertheless pronounced in its favor, and the present writer sees no adequate ground for rejecting it. On the supposition of its genuineness its remarkable Antichrist doctrine joins on with the Little Apocalypse of the First Epistle to supplement in an extraordinary way the mental picture Paul had at this time formed of the Coming of the Lord. Even on the supposition of its unauthenticity we shall still be obliged to regard this Epistle as practically contemporary with Paul, since it continues to hold to the manifestation of Beliar "in the temple of God." Written while the temple was yet standing it would still, even if unpauline, represent the eschatology of some rival but practically contemporary "prophet," who sought to improve upon that of Paul and Silvanus in First Thessalonians.

Pauline or pseudo-Pauline, Second Thessalonians is an invaluable witness to the kind of doctrine which was accepted in Pauline churches as teaching derived from "the Lord" in the period shortly after the crisis of 39-40, and shortly before that of 66-70. For how much of it Silvanus should be held responsible we cannot say, since Paul assumes joint responsibility. The only evidence on this point is the failure of the later Pauline epistles to reproduce anything of just the same kind.

Second Thessalonians in its opening chapter returns to the "descent of the Lord from heaven" described in the "word of the Lord" in I Thess. 4:16. The divine "recompense" is to come

> at the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with the angels of his power in flaming fire, rendering vengeance to them that know not God, and to them that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus, . . . when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be marvelled at in all them that believed.

It is not easy to recognize in this all too vindictive eschatology the type of mind which has given us the love lyric of I Cor. 13, or the picture of the mind of Christ in Phil. 2:5-11. Making all due allowance for the Apostle's present provocation from Gentiles who "know not God" and Jews who "obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus," it cannot well be imagined that Paul now *made up* an eschatology to suit his mood. The traits which here remind us so forcibly of *Enoch* and other pre-christian apocalypses are not of Paul's invention. Still less can they be attributed to any historical teaching of Jesus. We can be sure, however, that they had obtained currency in the Church, and were looked upon as having the sanction of Jesus. They had already circulated among Christians for some little time previous to Paul's writing (*cf.* Acts 17:3 with I

Thess. 1:10). To the degree wherein such a term may be applied to unwritten teaching they were "stereotyped."

But what shall we say as to the origin of the section which continues this Thessalonian eschatology, a section introduced for the special purpose of quieting the "agitation" of those too greatly excited "touching the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him"? Be it from Paul or Pseudo-Paul, be it a genuine or an unauthentic supplement to the teaching assumed before to have the sanction of "the Lord," II Thess. 2:1-12 certainly introduces a totally new and very extraordinary feature, *the Antichrist doctrine.* This is in substance the same as the feature of the Shiqqutz in the Synoptic Eschatological Discourse; and it is introduced for the same object as in Mark, even to the use of the same rare Greek expression "Be not agitated" (μὴ θροεῖσθε). We could have no better description of the motive for Mk. 13:3-37 than to say, as Paul says in II Thess. 2:1-4,

> Now we beseech you brethren, touching the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him, to the end that ye be not quickly shaken from your mind, nor yet be troubled, either by spirit [that is, in utterances of the "prophets"], or by word [such as the "word of the Lord" quoted in I Thess. 4:15 ff.], or by epistle purporting to emanate from us, as that the Day of the Lord is just at hand. Let no man beguile you in any way; for it will not be except the falling away come first and the Man of Sin be revealed, he that opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he sitteth in the temple of God, setting himself forth as God.

What is the source of this Antichrist eschatology, which the author (Paul, or contemporary Pseudo-Paul) declares was taught by Paul to the Thessalonians while he was "yet with you?" Was it an utterance of the "spirit"? Or was it a "word of the Lord" reported as granted to some "prophet" by revelation in some other church? If told by Paul to the Thessalonians while he was yet among them, clearly it belongs in the latter class. It was not his personal revelation. What Paul seems to be adding, whether of his own or some other interpreter, is an explanation of why the prediction could not have immediate fulfilment:

> And now ye know that which restraineth, to the end that he [the Antichrist] may be revealed in his own season. For the mystery of lawlessness doth already work: only there is one that restraineth now, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall be revealed the Lawless One, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth, and bring to nought by the manifestation of his Coming; even he whose Coming is according to the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with

all deceit of unrighteousness for them that are perishing; because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved. And for this cause God sendeth them [the unbelieving Jews] a working of error that they should believe a lie [*cf.* Rom. 11:7 f.; Jn. 5:42 f.], that all those might be condemned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.

Just how Paul accounted for the postponement of the Manifestation of the Lawless One, and who or what was the person or thing that would "restrain" until "he" be taken out of the way, we may leave for others to conjecture. For some reason the Manifestation had not taken place at the expected time. Nor is it difficult to determine with reasonable certainty what the postponement had been.

The expected profanation of the temple had not occurred. This "revelation" taught by Paul (or at least declared to have been taught by Paul) at his first coming to Thessalonica in company with the prophet Silvanus, not later than 49 A.D. (*cf.* I Thess. 1:10), is certainly not based on any historical teaching of Jesus. So far as it claims his authority it can only be a "word of the Lord" delivered through some "prophet" of the early Church; for the situation in view is obviously the crisis of the year 40. Moreover the language employed with reference to it is not the language of Jesus, nor is it in the spirit of Jesus. The language is that of "Daniel the Prophet." The spirit is that of the two "Sons of Thunder" rebuked in Lk. 9:51-56 (β text).[5] Whether it be the same Little Apocalypse placed by Mark in the mouth of Jesus as he sits with the four first disciples on the Mount of Olives "over against the temple," or only a slightly divergent version of the same accepted teaching, the prophecy itself is nothing more nor less than an application of Dan. 11:24-27 to the situation in Palestine in 39-40 A.D. It was inevitable that a Jewish Christian such as Matthew should recognize its essential basis in Scripture. It was altogether to be expected that he would conform it more closely to the original, as he habitually does with the other Scripture quotations of Mark. What we have still to enquire is how the prophecy comes to vary in certain notable particulars from "Daniel the Prophet." Already in the Pauline form we observe the phenomenon characteristic of the apocalypses and commonly known among critics as "setting the clock back." The *postponement* of the Manifestation of the Lawless One in II

[5] The later ascription of this type of Christian "prophecy" to "John" (Rev. 1:9 ff.) suggests the query whether Agrippa's selection of James as his first victim in preference to Peter, whom he only sought to apprehend later, may not have been due to activity of this denunciatory character by James and John during the crisis of 39-40.

Thess. 2:6 ff. is one of the instances where the writer has been "taught by the event." The doctrine of the Restrainer is a watermark of Claudian times. We have still to enquire whether further teachings "from the event" are to be found in Mark's Eschatological Discourse.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LITTLE APOCALYPSE OF THESSALONIANS

Recent study of the two Epistles to the Thessalonians makes it certain that these letters, written early in the year 50, presuppose and are partly based upon a Prophecy of the End which might appropriately be called the Pauline Little Apocalypse. Its distinctive feature is the doctrine of an Antichrist.

Like Mark Paul combines "a word of the Lord" with an interpretation of Daniel. If it be true that the Markan Apocalypse cannot be as a whole an authentic utterance of Jesus in its present form, but contains an apocalyptic element bearing marks of an origin in the crisis of the year 40, this is even more evident of the Pauline. A part of the eschatological teaching of First Thessalonians is explicitly referred to as "a word of the Lord"; but the expression probably stands for some utterance of church "prophets," given out like our own Revelation of John as "a revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave him to show unto his servants, even the things which must shortly come to pass." Of the prophecy of 40 A.D. as well as John's the Church doubtless maintained that the Lord had "sent and signified it by his angel [of prophecy] unto his servant," whoever the prophet in question may have been; were it one of the sons of Zebedee, or John whose surname was Mark, or Silvanus (for both of these were subsequently companions of Paul); or were it some other of the Palestinian guild. The Thessalonian Epistles certainly imply the currency in the Church of eschatological teaching of the type known as "prophecy" or "apocalypse." We have now to enquire how much can be credibly established concerning the origin, transmission, and adaptation of this Pauline Little Apocalypse.

It is noteworthy that Paul does *not* connect this eschatology with the destruction of Jerusalem. On the contrary, much as he is incensed against his unbelieving fellow-countrymen, who themselves "obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus" and at the same time "forbid us to speak to the Gentiles that they may be saved," convinced as he is that by killing the prophets and the Lord Jesus, and driving out the preachers of the gospel the Jews have "filled up the measure of their sins," so that "the wrath (I Thess. 1:10) has at last come upon them" (I Thess. 2:16), there is no suggestion of the siege or

overthrow of the city. In II Thess. 2:4 it is even explicitly predicted that the Son of Perdition will "sit in the temple of God setting himself forth as God," convincing evidence of the origin of both epistles before 70 A.D. Paul shows no knowledge that Jesus had prophesied the overthrow of the temple.

However, it is tolerably certain that if the profanation prophecy originated in the crisis of the year 40 it has already in its Pauline form undergone some modification because of the reversal of expectations in the intervening years. In I Thess. 2:4 the profanation is still to take place. Antichrist is to appear in the temple as a culmination of "the mystery of lawlessness" already at work. Event and locality are still unchanged. But postponement has occurred through "the Restrainer," whoever, or whatever, that may be, and whether Paul himself or some other "prophet" be responsible for it. The Thessalonians have been too much carried away with the principal drift of the prophecy, the promise of the Coming of Jesus from heaven to deliver his people from the coming Wrath (I Thess. 1:10). They have failed to recall an addendum, or qualifying clause, which the Apostle himself had attached, and of which Paul (or Pseudo-Paul) now reminds them. The Manifestation of Jesus from Heaven as Deliverer from the Wrath, accompanied by the archangel's voice and the trump of God (I Thess. 4:15-17) *must be preceded by an Apostasy elicited by Satan through an Antichrist manifested "in the temple of God"* (II Thess. 2:3). This counter-demonstration of Satan leading to the Apostasy, is itself held in check for the time being by a Restrainer.

According to Hitzig the Restrainer (ὁ κατέχων) is Claudius (from *claudere,* "to shut off," or "restrain"). Coming to the empire unexpectedly through the assassination of Caius, Claudius put a sudden stop to the attempt at desecration of the temple, and introduced instead a policy of extraordinary favor to the Jews on account of his indebtedness to Agrippa I. This policy of favor to Judaism might naturally be spoken of in 50 A.D. as "that which restraineth" (τὸ κατέχον): for both masculine and neuter pronouns are employed. As soon as he (or "it") should be "taken out of the way" the policy of Caius, instigated by the Antisemitism of the time, whose favorite pretext was the new form of Seleucid king-worship (religious devotion to the genius of Caesar) might be expected to proceed to its inevitable end. Some emperor less favorably disposed than Claudius, or (like Nero) more open to the flattery of king-worship, would be sure to yield; for oriental sycophancy was ever on the watch to gain its ends by pushing forward this agency of Hellenistic statecraft. There might perhaps be no renewal of the

attempt to set up the emperor's bust in the temple. But the forces of "lawlessness" (paganism) were aggressive and alert. Some affront to Jewish religion would sooner or later be offered, and the inevitable result would be (as Petronius foresaw when he refused to carry out the orders of Caius) insurrection and war *à outrance.* Even if the weak barrier of Caius' exemption of Jerusalem should suffice, the issue must come. Rome or Jerusalem, emperor-worship or monotheism in the form of Jehovah-worship; one or other must triumph without the possibility of compromise. In 41-50 this irrepressible conflict must have seemed a fairly safe prediction. It gave at least new and larger meaning to Daniel's vision of the conflict with Antiochus. There had been momentary deliverance from the precise form of catastrophe apprehended. The profanation might not be by the setting up of a literal altar or statue, but the temple would again be profaned.

The precise sense of the "Restrainer" of II Thess. 2:7 is impossible to determine. Hitzig may, or may not, be right in his ingenious conjecture. In any event "he" (or "that") which restrains represents an interlude in the Danielic drama. We cannot be far from the meaning if we take this supplementary prediction as a postponement of the original prophecy made necessary by the unexpectedly favorable issue when Claudius came to the throne. The delay takes place expressly in order that Antichrist may appear "in his own season" (*cf.* Dan. 9:24-27). Whether partially or wholly Pauline this scheme of the new "conflict of religions in the Empire" based upon Daniel represents authoritative Christian eschatology as it was in A.D. 50-66. But to what extent was it stereotyped?

Moderns do not always realize how much was involved for primitive apologetic by the bold and emphatic claim of the Church to be supernaturally endowed with the spirit of "prophecy." For Synagogue and Church alike the one test was that of Dt. 13:1 f., confirmation, or failure of confirmation, of prediction by the event. Polemic had the practical effect of conservation. Adherents of the Church were not slow to make their boast in the Lord when "prophecy" was fulfilled, being careful to report the prediction in such form as to bring out the correspondence as closely as possible. We have seen an example of this in the case of Mark's prediction of the martyrdom of James and John. The care taken by the evangelist to mention *both* martyrs makes it highly probable (from the standpoint of apologetic) that he is writing after John also had "drunk the cup of the Lord." Another example of verified prophecy in which the form of the report shows apparent adapta-

tion to the event is the prediction placed in the mouth of Jesus in Mk. 13:9, "Ye shall stand before governors and kings on my account for a witness unto them" followed by the prediction of the proclamation of the gospel "to all the Gentiles." Like the reference to the Baptist's denunciation of Antipas it suggests, but does not prove, that the evangelist has in mind Paul's testimony before Felix and Agrippa, and his subsequent ministry and martyrdom at Rome. Success was a great stimulus to the Church's memory of "prophecy." Failure was even more important as a corrective. In the case of apparent non-fulfillment an argus-eyed opposition made sure that predictions not fully borne out by the event were not disavowed by the Church, or conveniently altered or forgotten.

It belongs to the very nature of "prophecy" that it cannot be retracted. A certain amount of modification is permissible, especially as regards times and seasons. When, as in eschatology, the burden of the exhortation is "Watch, for ye know not the day nor the hour," it follows of necessity that there must be uncertainty as to the precise time of the Coming. This uncertainty allows accordingly for postponement. A well-known example of this (not unconnected with the apocalypse with which we are now engaged) is the prophecy of the seven "kings" in Rev. 17:9-11, to which the seer "taught by the event" has been compelled to add "the beast that was and is not" as "an eighth who is of the seven." But in the case of all later adjustments of prophecy, opponents see to it that the original form is changed as little as possible. Once, therefore, a "prophecy" has been promulgated, approved by the Church through that process of testing which Paul recommends to the Thessalonians (I Thess. 5:19-21) and accepted as a true "word of the Lord," it cannot be materially altered. Slight adjustments may be made. There may be postponement, as suggested. But the principle must be held to. Especially if the "prophecy" be based on some Scripture such as Dan. 9:24-27; 11:30-37, the original form remains to bless or to curse. The Church which has assumed responsibility for an alleged "word of the Lord" may wish it had been less definite and specific in a given case. But the Synagogue, eager to disprove the Church's claim of prophetic foresight, will insist on the *ipsissima verba*. Change in a "prophecy" once given out as a "word of the Lord" was a more difficult process than moderns imagine. For that reason the prophecy is the more reliable in its basis, and traces of later adaptation to the event, if such exist, are less difficult to detect. There are limits of possible alteration.

We have seen that the crisis of the year 40 drew out from Christian "prophets" a form of eschatology based on the predictions of

Daniel concerning the desecration of the temple, and that the Church became committed to this eschatology as a "word of the Lord." Whether the Little Apocalypse of Paul in Thessalonians, and the Shiqqutz prophecy of Mark are actually derived from the same prophetic utterance in the Jerusalem church in 39-40 A.D., or only from kindred utterances of the same period, is not vital to the question. Doubtless there were many prophets in the Jerusalem church who undertook applications of Daniel's prophecy to the situation of 39-40. But no other circumstances than those of 40 A.D. will account for the elements which they have in common, more especially the profanation doctrine. For Paul expects a "mystery of lawlessness" parodying the "mystery of the kingdom" and finding its "manifestation" in a renewal of the sacrilege of Antiochus. This is a new development. Pre-Christian apocalypse had indeed a "Beliar" (or "Belial") figure as a personification of Satanic power. But personification falls short of incarnation, nor can there be a parody of redemption in the Christian sense until the Christian sense has itself found expression. Of the Antichrist doctrine (not that of Beliar only) Second Thessalonians gives the earliest known trace. It does not, however, stand entirely alone; for the Antichrist prophecy of Rev. 13 is also based, according to a number of critics, on a Jewish or Jewish-Christian apocalypse of this same period. Of the theories of Erbes, Spitta, Wellhausen, and J. Weiss regarding the "Caligula-apocalypse" underlying Rev. 13 Archdeacon Charles has given so full an account (*Intern. Crit. Comm.* p. 338 ff.) in addition to his own, that we need but cite his conclusion (p. 350):

> However just these contentions (of Spitta and Erbes) may be, the text as it stands cannot refer to Caligula. To make it do so requires the change of the number 666 to 616 (Γάϊος καῖσαρ=616, an ancient reading). . . . The text as it stands refers . . . to Nero *redivivus*. However, our author is probably using here an earlier source referring possibly to Caligula.

Mutually independent or not, and however related or unrelated to the Johannine, the Pauline and the Synoptic "prophecies" must both go back to the attempt of Caius. Neither can be accounted for as a "word of the Lord" in any other sense than as the Revelation of John may be so called. It is the critic's business to determine what changes, if any, appear to have been brought about in this early form of Christian eschatology by the subsequent course of events. We must examine first the Pauline form, to see if any modification besides the inevitable postponement appears to have been dictated by known occurrences.

We may take from Schürer the account of events after Agrippa's intercession with Caius to avert the catastrophe in the closing months of 40 A.D.

> Contrary to all expectation, the letter of Agrippa had the desired effect. Caligula caused a letter to be written to Petronius (proconsul in Antioch, who meantime had himself endeavored to defer the mad designs of the emperor), commanding that nothing should be changed in the temple at Jerusalem. The favour was certainly not unmixed; for along with this order there was an injunction that *no one who should erect a temple or altar to the emperor outside of Jerusalem* should be hindered from doing so. A good part of the concession that had been made was thus again withdrawn; and it was *only owing to the circumstance that no one took advantage of the right thus granted,* that new disturbances did not arise out of it. The emperor himself soon repented that he had made even this concession. He made indeed no further use of the statue that had been prepared at Sidon, but ordered a new one to be made in Rome which he intended himself, in his journey to Alexandria which he had in prospect, to put ashore on the coast of Palestine as he passed, and have it secretly brought to Jerusalem. Only the death of the emperor that soon followed (January 24, 41) prevented the carrying out of this enterprise.

We can account for the eschatology of the Thessalonian Epistles only as we take note of the fact that in them while Jerusalem is (for the time being) exempted, the rest of Judaea is exposed to continual encroachment from this new form of Seleucid religious tyranny. R. H. Charles in his excursus on "The Antichrist, Beliar, and the Neronic Myths, and their ultimate Fusion in early Christian Literature"[1] and Frame[2] are agreed that fusion of the Danielic Desecrator myth with that of Beliar, to produce the figure of "the man of lawlessness" who occupies the seat of divinity in the temple of God, took place in Christian circles "before 50 A.D." This conclusion is, of course, based by Frame upon the date "early in 50" for the Thessalonian Epistles. Charles is quite explicit in stating his conviction:

> This expectation [of "the man of Lawlessness"] may have been influenced by the action of the emperor Caligula (37-41 A.D.) when he ordered the governor Petronius to erect his statue in the Temple. If he had persisted in this act of profanation the Jews would undoubtedly have regarded it as a fulfilment of the prediction of the setting up of "the abomination of desolation" in the Temple. This phrase was, as we are aware, first applied to the heathen altar set up by Antiochus in the Temple (I Macc. 1:54), and probably also to the image of Olympian Zeus beside it (cf. *Taanith* iv. 6.).

[1] *Intern. Crit. Comm. on Revelation,* 1920, Vol. II, p. 77.
[2] *Intern. Crit. Comm. on Thessalonians,* p. 254 f.

Charles not only suggests here how the prediction of the *shiqqutz shomem* in the Temple as a sign of the End came to be regarded as "a word of the Lord" and connected with authentic warnings of Jesus regarding the fate of an unrepentant Jerusalem (Lk. 13: 1-9), but he definitely fixes the date (37-41) when the "prophecy" originated. In fact he proceeds to quote the suggestion of Bousset that "the ever recurring expectation of later times, that Antichrist would take his place in the temple of Jerusalem dates from this period." In general terms we may accept this result. Antichrist was born under Caligula in 40 A.D. The earliest appearance of the doctrine is in our present Pauline Little Apocalypse. But we must look more closely at this "ever recurring expectation" and its effect on the Pauline form of the apocalypse in 50 A.D.

Through the Book of Acts and the Gallio inscription discovered at Delphi in 1905 it is fortunately possible to date the Thessalonian Epistles accurately in the early months of the year 50; but even were we shut up to inferences from the form of the eschatology the approximate dating would not be doubtful. It would be just as possible to argue for a date later than 40 from the doctrine of the Restrainer, as to argue from the expectation of the appearance of Antichrist *in the temple* for a date earlier than 70. The Restrainer's function is to hold back the Antichrist, so that he may not be manifested before his "proper time," for his "proper time" is closely though cryptically calculated in Dan. 9:24-27. The characterization of Antichrist is given in II Thess. 2:4, and (as Frame points out) "The words of the first clause are evidently reminiscent of a description already applied to Antiochus Epiphanes by Daniel (Theod. 11:36 ff.)." The Restrainer doctrine is therefore a mere supplement to an earlier prophecy whose essential feature was the repetition of the temple profanation of Antiochus. The Christian seer expects the prophecy of Daniel to be now fulfilled, though the "proper time" has not yet arrived. He looks for "the apostasy" (ver. 3) of Dan. 11:30 (Antiochus welcomes "those that forsake the holy covenant"). He describes the wicked king in the very terms of Dan. 11:36 ("he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak swelling words against the God of Gods . . . Neither shall he regard any god; for he shall magnify himself above all"). It is highly significant, however, that Paul *omits* the intervening prophecy of Dan. 11:31,

> And forces shall stand on his part, and they shall profane the sanctuary, even the fortress, and shall take away the continual burnt-offering, and they shall set up the abomination that maketh desolate.

Instead of this unmistakable reference to the Shiqqutz as we have

it in the Markan and Matthean apocalypse, Paul has only the vaguer prediction that

> the Man of Lawlessness will be revealed, the Son of Perdition, he that opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God or that is worshipped; so that he sitteth in the temple of God, setting himself forth as God. [This, however, will not be until after the removal of the present Restrainer.] Then shall be revealed the Lawless One, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth, and bring to nought by the manifestation of his Coming; even he whose Coming is according to the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceit of unrighteousness for them that are perishing; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.

Frame finds "difficulty with the reference to the temple in Jerusalem" as the place of Antichrist's manifestation, in the fact that the evidence for this interpretation is "not convincing":

> Neither Antiochus who erected a heathen altar on the altar of burnt-offering, and presumably placed thereon (?)[3] a statue of Zeus Olympios (*cf.* I Macc. 1:54: Dan. 9:27; 11:31; Mk. 13:14; Mt. 24:15), nor Caligula who ordered Petronius to set up his statue in the temple (Jos. *Ant.* 18:8) is conceived as sitting or attempting to sit in the sanctuary of God. Contrast our verse with *Asc.* Is. 4:11: "He (Beliar) . . . will set up his image in every city."

The exception taken by Frame to the attempt to identify the Pauline self-manifestation of Antichrist with the Synoptic Shiqqutz-prophecy is justified. There is a real and significant difference. To Paul the profaning object is *a living man.* On the other hand Paul could not mean, or be taken to mean, anything else by "the temple of God," than "the temple in Jerusalem." There is no ambiguity whatever as to *place.* The real ambiguity comes from the substitution of a *person* for a *thing.* Paul has left out the material Shiqqutz, which his use of Dan. 11:30-37 implies as part of the original prophecy, and has substituted the conception which Frame justly regards as novel, the *Man* of Lawlessness "sitting, or attempting to sit, in the sanctuary of God."[4] Whence and why this change, if not because the failure of the expected profanation by setting up the statue of Caligula in 40-41 had compelled a more spiritual interpretation of the prediction of Daniel? The *place* remains, as be-

[3] Theodotion's translation of Dan. 9:27 (ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν = *we 'al kanaph*) suggests that the statue was set on the "pinnacle" of the temple.

[4] Of this affront to "all that is called a god, or that is worshipped," Caligula had been guilty by personally taking his place among the statues of the gods in the Pantheon at Rome and welcoming popular worship. It was quite conceivable that some other imperial megalomaniac might repeat Caligula's performance "in the temple of God" in Jerusalem.

fore, "the temple of God"; that is "the sanctuary, even the fortress," of Dan. 11:31. The *agent* remains, as before, the king who "exalts himself and magnifies himself above everything divine" of Dan. 11:36. But the precise *form* of the profanation (*shiqqutzim ha-shomim*="objects of worship that make desolate") has been changed. In place of the material object Paul substitutes a *personal* manifestation.

We must remember that Paul is a Roman citizen, and moreover habitually shields himself against the fanatical hatred of his fellow-countrymen under Roman authority. For him the growing danger is the pagan incarnation-doctrine, which to his mind is a parody of the Christian, just as the Mithra ritual is to Justin a parody of the Christian sacrament. Seleucid king-worship was reasserting itself. Emperor-worship as an oriental superstition continually pushing itself forward in the East against the better judgment of the saner emperors themselves was already at odds with Jewish monotheism. Paul looks at the conflict from the religious point of view. For him, writing under Claudius, the political crisis is past. The insurrection of Theudas in 44-45 had just been suppressed by Cuspius Fadus. The great famine which followed under Fadus and his successor in the procuratorship, Tiberius Alexander (45-46), no doubt belongs also, together with the complete loss of Jewish independence, among the indications Paul sees of "the wrath" which the unbelieving, persecuting people have at last filled to overflowing against themselves. But these are past. Why look for more political disaster? There is no indication that Paul foresees a greater rebellion to follow that of Theudas after twenty years, and that it will entail the destruction of Jerusalem. On the contrary he expects the temple to stand indefinitely. It is to become the scene of conflict between Christ and Belial. The great saying of Jesus on the abiding spiritual temple Paul rightly interprets (I Cor. 3:9; Eph. 2:22) in the sense that God and Christ will abide in the spiritual Israel, "a habitation of God in the Spirit." It will not be in "houses made with hands." True he still looks for the profanation of the sanctuary foretold by Daniel. This to Paul is still the sign of the Coming, because the Deliverer must appear when the crisis has reached its culmination. A "mystery of lawlessness" (paganism) is already at work. The combination of Pharisees and Herodians against the Church (Acts 12:1 f.) is a foretaste of it. It already parallels the combination of the apostate Hellenizing Jews with Antiochus, a leaven of the Pharisees[5] which may well be expected to mimic the work of Christ,

[5] See Bacon, "Pharisees and Herodians in Mark," *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, XXXIX (1920), p. 102 ff.

so that in a literal sense, and as foretold by the prophets, judgment should begin "at the house of God." But Paul does not look for the destruction of the temple. For him the conflict is "in the heavenlies," reflected on earth only in the conflict of religious ideals. There is no intimation in the forecast of this theologian and citizen of Rome of political revolutions such as that which brought about the sack of Jerusalem and burning of the temple in 70 A.D., though such events are of course not excluded.

Such, then, was the form which Christian apocalypse had taken on in 50 A.D. The basic idea was the Danielic prediction of a profanation of the temple. In the crisis of 40 this had drawn forth a Christian adaptation widely circulated as a "word of the Lord," that is, a "revelation of the things that must shortly come to pass," sent by the risen Christ and signified to his servant (John?). The substance of this "prophecy" could not be changed. Even when the crisis came and passed by without the expected "setting up of the abomination of desolation in the sanctuary" (Dan. 11:31) the profanation was still expected. Only the material form of it was no longer pressed. Paul's interpretation of the Scripture is what we might expect from the Apostle who contends that our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities and powers in the heavenly places, against the world-rulers of this darkness, the Prince of the power of the air. Not a material Shiqqutz will provoke the insurrection, but a "manifestation of Beliar."

Paul realizes that advancing emperor-worship must soon come to an issue with Jewish and Christian monotheism. It was indeed an irrepressible conflict. On one side loyal Judaism and Christianity (as yet quite undistinguished in Gentile thought) would stand together. On the other would stand pagan "lawlessness" (the terminology is Jewish-Christian rather than Pauline). And there seemed to be as yet no reason to question the prediction of Daniel that "the sanctuary" would be the scene of the supreme struggle. Josephus takes the prediction for granted. Under Claudius it was still definitely expected. It is quite possible that in Second Thessalonians the hand is deutero-Pauline, though still of the period 50-70. But it would be hard to mention any other than Paul to whom this solution of the problem by transposition of the conflict into the spirit world would be more natural. If the essential feature of the Danielic prediction (profanation of the temple) is retained, while the growing forces of pagan "lawlessness" are conceived as a "mystery" already at work, a counter-activity of "the god of this world" in a sort of diabolical imitation of the redemption in Christ Jesus, this is in line with the mind of Paul. But whether

the Antichrist doctrine be due to Paul, or Silvanus, or some contemporary Christian prophet, in Paul's environment we can hardly account for the disappearance of the feature of the Shiqqutz, and the substitution of the idea of a *personal* manifestation of "Antichrist" in the temple, unless it be by the desire to do full justice to the Danielic prediction of the profanation of the sanctuary, at a time when it could no longer be expected that it would take the material form anticipated in the crisis of the year 40. The interpretation adopted in Second Thessalonians is at least in harmony with Pauline ideas, a "mystery of lawlessness" culminating in an incarnation of Satanic "power and signs and lying wonders, together with all deceit of unrighteousness for them that are perishing because they would not receive the truth." The conflict of pagan atheism against Jewish and Christian monotheism remains. The profanation of the sanctuary as prelude to the Coming remains. Only the Shiqqutz has vanished. On the other hand the expectation of a Jewish war against Rome, a destruction of Jerusalem, and a burning and demolition of the temple has not yet appeared above the horizon. Paul has a "word of the Lord" to quote; but if he knew of any saying predicting the doom of Jerusalem and the temple, he makes no mention of it.

NOTE

A communication from Professor S. J. Case of Chicago, received since this volume was paged, calls attention to a much needed correction of the statement of Schürer above quoted (p. 93). The Palestinian synagogues did *not* owe their immunity from desecration during the reign of Claudius "to the circumstance that noone took advantage of the right granted (by Caligula)" in places "outside Jerusalem." On the contrary Josephus relates at length (*Ant.* XIX, vi. 3) how even under Agrippa I the Syrian rabble actually set up the statue of Claudius in the synagogue at Dor (a rival Jewish port seven miles north of Caesarea), thus renewing the pogrom of Alexandria, doubtless expecting the outrage to receive from Claudius the same favorable treatment shown by Caligula. Petronius, the proconsul at Antioch, who on the former occasion had risked his life to save the temple from sacrilege, intervened again at the request of Agrippa, this time with the emperor's full support. The centurion Proculus Vitellius was sent to execute condign punishment on the perpetrators of the outrage, and Petronius issued a proclamation against further "lawlessness" of the kind. Paul's statement of conditions under Claudius is therefore by far the more correct. Jews and Christians alike owed their brief respite from the hatred of the Hellenizing mob to the vigorous hand of the Roman "Restrainer." When this was "taken away" only three years later than the date of Paul's writing by the accession of Nero, the "mystery of lawlessness" was prompt to wreak its fell purpose "in the temple of God" itself, though not in the precise manner anticipated by the Apostle.

CHAPTER IX

THE MARKAN DOOM-CHAPTER IN MATTHEAN ADAPTATION

From the form which Christian eschatology assumes in the Thessalonian Epistles we must turn again to the story of the later years of Paul, and the disastrous change in the policy of Nero, at first the docile pupil of Seneca and Burrhus, giving, for a "golden quinquennium," almost ideal good government. Later we find Nero yielding more and more to the persistent sin of the autocrat, the megalomania of Caligula. Lustful self-indulgence first transformed the palace of the Caesars into a scene of continual orgies and murders, next a morbid craving for popular applause sent Nero on his eastern tour in quest for histrionic laurels. The adulatory inscription in bronze letters lately deciphered, affixed to the tympanum of the Parthenon by order of the Council of Athens and the Areopagus exalting "Nero the Son of God" still testifies eloquently both to the servility of the East, and to the advances of Roman imperialism along the path marked out for it by oriental flattery. To the Johannine seer these are "names of blasphemy." To every Christian Nero's childish chase after flattery must have recalled the insane vanity of Caligula. The comparison of it by Christian prophets to the battle of Antiochus (self-styled "God Manifest") against Jehovah-worship was almost inevitable. It is not surprising that the more literal and concrete interpretation of the prophecy of Daniel should regain the upper hand as Nero approached more and more the antics of his insane predecessor.

We dropped the thread of events relating to the struggle against profanation of the temple at the point where it was broken off by the assassination of January 24, A.D. 41. The temple was specifically exempted. But the Jew-baiters had received implicit leave to carry out their favorite mode of attack against any other Jewish holy place. The *Ascension of Isaiah,* with its prediction of Beliar "setting up his image *in every city*" (IV. 11), is one of several evidences that the imperial license to inciters of pogroms was not forgotten. This anonymous prophet also has found a solution of the difficulty created by Daniel's overprecise designation of "the" holy place.

Hostility to the Jews, provoked by their religious claims and the

special exemptions which their religious scruples had secured for them, did not diminish during the reign of Claudius. On the contrary, everything tended to keep glowing the embers of apocalyptic expectation. The closing years of Claudius' reign were marked by an anti-Semitic outbreak at Rome which led to the expulsion of Jews and Christians together from the metropolis shortly before the date of Paul's writing.[1] When Nero came to the throne (October 13, 54) the outlook was for a time brighter in the empire at large, but for those in Judea matters soon went from bad to worse. True, Felix, the corrupt and servile appointee of Claudius' "kitchen cabinet," was replaced by Festus, an appointee of Nero's "golden quinquennium." But Festus' administration was short. Under his successors robbery and oppression of the Jews by their Samaritan and Gentile neighbors reached proportions which finally under Gessius Florus (64-66) became utterly unbearable. Emperor-worship flourished apace. At last, at the very time while the imperial buffoon was receiving divine honors from fawning Greek assemblies for his performances on the stage in Achaia, rebellion in Judea broke forth beyond control (November, 66). Once more "prophecy" reverted to Daniel and the prediction of the Shiqqutz. Nero was not likely to show more restraint than Caligula; nor was this a time to expect the special exemption of the temple at Jerusalem from profanation. Above all, the explicit prediction of Daniel was ever present, waiting only the opportunity to reassert itself. The Jew-baiters might be expected to have their way whenever the Roman legions should finally enter the city. As we know by special report of primitive Christian tradition, the Church entertained no doubt whatever of Roman victory. Taught not only by remembered sayings of Jesus, but specially instructed by "a revelation granted to approved men there (in Jerusalem) before (but perhaps not immediately before) the war"[2] the Church took advantage of the slowness of Rome to renew the assault after the disaster which had befallen Cestius Gallus and the twelfth legion, and removed to "a certain town of Perea called Pella." When the Church departed it must have seemed as if the Man of Sin were on the very point of taking his seat in the temple of God. As yet nothing else was to be expected but that the "mystery of iniquity," after having been mercifully "restrained" during a period of twenty-five years of divine long-suffering with a disobedient people, would come to its long-expected culmination. Profanation, whether in Nero's person or by object of worship, seemed inevitable. But even now it does

[1] Acts 18: 2, *cf.* Suetonius, *Claudius* 25, Dio Cassius LX, vi. 6.
[2] Eusebius *H.E.* III, v. 3, perhaps resting on Hegesippus.

not appear that anyone, Jew or Christian, anticipated the actual overthrow of Herod's massive building.

But at the very end of the siege, against the explicit orders of Titus, an enraged Roman soldier flung a fire-brand into the magnificent colonnades of the temple, destroying the splendid superstructure, so that nothing remained for the conqueror in the end but to order its complete demolition. Thus of the "great stones" proudly exhibited by the disciples to Jesus there remained literally "not one stone upon another."

Up to this moment the expectation of the Jews must have been that at least "the temple of God and the altar" would be spared. The saying of Jesus contrasting the impermanence of the material with the spiritual temple must have been understood (correctly) in the sense Paul would seem to have given it (II Cor. 4:18). The "house" might remain to its devotees, but "forsaken." The "dwelling" of God would be with a new Israel. The prophecy ascribed to John (Rev. 11:1) holds that even if "the court without the temple and the holy city" were "given unto the Gentiles to tread under foot" the sanctuary itself will remain inviolate. This too is an erratic block. Christians who cherished as "a revelation" the prediction of Antichrist "manifested" in the temple must have felt more and more convinced, up to the very catastrophe itself, that in some sense "the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet" was about to "stand in the holy place." They can hardly have failed to point with pride to the prophecy long treated as unfulfilled. Ultimately, as the great stones yielded under the levers of the tenth legion, they will also have quoted the saying, "Not one stone shall rest upon another."

In this twenty-five years of reprieve from Caligula to Nero we have no reason to suppose that the primitive Christian eschatology represented in First and Second Thessalonians was changed in any essential respect, save that of postponement by the κατέχων, and this Paul himself proposes or else endorses. The manifestation of Antichrist *in the temple* was still expected. In the later epistles we have (as often remarked) an increasing disposition on Paul's part to rest upon the mystical side of his hope of immortality, his gradual "transfiguration" into the likeness of the glorified Christ and ultimate departure "to be with the Lord," coupled with a neglect of his apocalyptic expectations of witnessing the destruction of Beliar and manifestation of the Christ "our life." This was only natural with the advancing years and infirmities of the veteran Apostle. But the "mystery" (apocalypse?) told in I Cor. 15:51 f., involving

the same chief apocalyptic features as I Thess. 4:16, shows that they are still in the background of Paul's thought. The course of events would certainly tend among Christians generally throughout this period of suspense to confirm rather than diminish their expectation of the original apocalyptic program. Their eschatology in 50 A.D. must be judged by First and Second Thessalonians. But side by side with the Little Apocalypse stood the original Great Apocalypse of Daniel, of which it had been a mere adaptation in the first instance; and to this it could not fail to be repeatedly reconformed as successive generations were "taught by the event." The Pauline eschatology is one example of this reconformation to Danielic type. We shall see that Paul's example bore fruit.

Primitive Christian eschatology was determined, as we have seen, first, by the quite general warnings of Jesus, second, by apocalyptic utterances of the "prophets" in the period of crisis about 40 A.D., accepted as "a word of the Lord," third, by "Scripture," wherein Daniel was of principal effect. As we now approach the terminology of the Synoptic writers it will be seen at once that what we have before us in Mark and Luke is a parallel to the Pauline form. So far from having the original prophecy, we have quite visibly in Mark, and even more unmistakably in Luke, an adaptation of the primitive tradition to meet the inconvenient fact that by a second unexpected development (i.e., the burning and subsequent demolition of the temple) it had become forever impossible to experience a literal fulfilment of the expected culmination of the "mystery of iniquity." The "man of lawlessness" would never take his seat "in the temple of God" claiming honors due solely to God. It was no longer possible to retain the apocalypse in this form because "the temple of God" had been quite unexpectedly but completely destroyed. There was not even a prospect of its being rebuilt within the period over which Christian hopes of the Coming extended. Prophecy had been wrong on the minor point of *locality*. Otherwise all was confirmed. Such appears to be the prospect in view of which both the second and third of our evangelists recast the current eschatology, making (as always) the minimum of change. Both Mark and Luke appear to have been "taught by the event," Luke certainly far more obviously than Mark, whether because he has the record of Josephus, or only because he is a better historian. These changes we shall discuss later, confining ourselves for the present to Matthew.

As we have already noted (above, p. 64) the Doom-chapter in Matthew assumes a form nearest of all to the Danielic model, and

even an "immediately" (ver. 29) is introduced to give additional assurance that the expected Coming of the Son of Man will not be long delayed after "the tribulation of those days." Nevertheless Matthew's special adaptation of the parable of the Slighted Invitation (Mt. 22:1-10=Lk. 14:15-24; *cf.* especially verses 6-7 and 10-14) makes it practically certain that this Gospel dates from a period subsequent to 70. How is this phenomenon to be explained?

In view of certain salient characteristics of Matthew, especially as regards "fulfilments" of Scripture, or what to this evangelist has the authority of Scripture, we cannot infer from its closer approximation to Daniel an earlier date than Mark. Where the special interests of Matthew are concerned this evangelist always takes pains to bring the Scripture quotations of Mark into closer conformity to the Old Testament text, as in 19:18 f. (*cf.* Mk. 10:19), 21:2-7 (*cf.* Mk. 11:2-7), 27:34, 48 (*cf.* Mk. 15:36), 35 (*cf.* Mk. 15:24), 57-60 (*cf.* Mk. 15:42 f.). We should especially expect it in the case of a prophecy so vital as this to Christian hopes. More significant still is Matthew's general disposition to accentuate warnings of the impending judgment (7:21-23; 13:40-43, 47-50; 22:11-13; 25:31-46), and to make more definite and positive the predictions of the Parousia. Thus at the sending of the Twelve the Coming of the Son of Man is definitely promised before they shall have "gone over the cities of Israel" (Mt. 10:23). For the vaguer assurance of Mk. 9:1 that some of them that stand by shall in no wise taste of death till they see the kingdom of God "come with power" Matthew substitutes "till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom." This tendency is particularly marked in the Doom-chapter. Here, instead of Mark's form of the question "Tell us when shall *these things* be (that is, the demolition of the temple; *cf.* ver. 2), and what shall be the sign when *all these things* are about to be accomplished," Matthew substitutes "What shall be the sign of *thy Coming* and of the *consummation of the world?*" He also makes the claim of the pretenders more definite by adding to Mark's "I am" the words "the Christ." The effect in general is to change the tone of the discourse from repression of overwrought eschatological expectation to distinct encouragement of it. The repressive tone is characteristic of Mark, who repeats the exhortation of Paul to the Thessalonians, even adopting its distinctive term μὴ θροεῖσθε (II Thess. 2:2; *cf.* Mk. 13:7). Matthew would repress *premature* enthusiasm, with *ultimate* encouragement. The addition of an "immediately" (εὐθέως) in Mt. 24:29, where Mark only predicts the signs of the End in heaven "in those days, after that

tribulation'' is commonly observed. But this does not stand alone. Verse 30 adds the definite assurance ''and then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven.'' The promise of his coming ''with clouds'' is conformed to the letter of Dan. 7 : 13 LXX ''on the clouds of heaven.'' Two new traits are added in verses 30 and 31, the ''mourning of all the tribes of the land'' (or ''earth'' LXX ἡ γῆ) from Zech. 12 : 10-14, and the ''great trumpet'' of Is. 27 : 13. The latter is a stereotyped feature of current apocalypse, as we see from I Thess. 4 : 16; I Cor. 15 : 52. These additions, and the change of the warning of Mk. 13 : 10 that the Coming will *not* be until after the Gentiles have heard the message to the positive form ''then *shall* the End come'' (Mt. 24 : 14), are all encouragements to an apocalyptic hope which *in due season* is to be justified.

With such manifold evidences of a disposition to conform to Old Testament apocalypse, and simultaneously to make the predictions of Mark both clearer and more reassuring, we cannot mistake the general attitude of Matthew toward the work he is using. All that his predecessor had said Matthew endorses as true, adding a few kindred logia, and some elaborations of his own. But he detaches the discourse as a whole from its connection with the demolition of the temple, and makes it more exclusively a prediction of the end of the world (συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος). He also emphasizes the fact that the time of *further* waiting will be short. The Coming will be ''immediately after those days'' of tribulation. Matthew seems thus to be seeking to restore an eschatological enthusiasm which it had been the effort of Paul and Mark to hold in check. He aims to conform the Little Apocalypse of Mark to the Great Apocalypse of Daniel for the very purpose of showing how ''the Scripture was fulfilled'' in what has already transpired, and is sure to be in what is still to come to pass. The Matthean adaptation of the Little Apocalypse leads over to the apocalyptic chapter of the *Teaching of the Twelve*, and is continued in the interpretations of Jerome and Chrysostom. It marks the beginning of that type which on the one side reassimilates to Daniel, while on the other it endeavors to find correspondences with known events.

Our first inference from this survey is fatal to the common supposition that the Markan Little Apocalypse was composed in the first years of the outbreak (66-67), that it came to the attention of Matthew, and was immediately recast before this evangelist could know through the course of events that the Danielic expectation of the profanation of the temple could never be literally fulfilled. The relation of our first Gospel to our second is anything but that of a

hasty revision under pressure of such circumstances as those of Judea in 66-70. Matthew is a work of the utmost care and attention. It combines Mark and the Second Source with elaborate skill, weaving in certain minor factors to make a literary product such as only years of thought and labor could achieve. Both it and Luke must stand at no little remove from their common narrative source, if only to allow time for Mark to achieve its unrivalled preëminence in their estimation. But there are many features of Matthew, including some already noted, such as the addition to the parable of the Slighted Invitation (Mt. 22:7), which make so early a date as 66-70 incredible. Among these, in spite of attempts to interpret the phenomena in an opposite sense, must be reckoned the Matthean Doom-chapter. We find indeed greater definiteness of its predictions as compared with Mark; and this very definiteness undoubtedly shows that Matthew takes the setting up of "the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet" in the true and real sense of the pre-Christian prophecy. But this need not be because the temple was still standing at the time of writing. It might equally well be because the temple having fallen, and the Son of Man having not yet been manifested on the clouds of heaven, the setting up of the Shiqqutz having also failed to take place in the real sense of Daniel, Matthew could only infer that the fulfilment was still in the future. Like Luke he has been "taught by the event." Like the author of *Ascensio Isaiae,* he knows that some change must be made as to locality. But his solution is characteristically simple. Instead of carrying further the Markan idea of fulfilment through a personal manifestation in "the" holy place after the Lukan manner, Matthew has clung to the letter of Scripture. Daniel, to Matthew's mind, had already had literal fulfilment by erection of an idolatrous altar. Only he substitutes "a" holy place for "the" holy place, being aware that when the great rebellion actually broke out it had been in very truth *because of the profanation of a synagogue in Caesarea* in just this manner. Matthew, then, looks *back* on the profanation and its sequel, the "great tribulation," but *forward* to the Coming "immediately" after.

The explanation of the greater definiteness, and more positive form of Matthew's prophecy of the End as compared with Mark's is therefore really the opposite of what many suppose. Matthew knows too well what Daniel really means, and is too loyal to Scripture prediction to be satisfied with any alleged fulfilment in which the Shiqqutz is made to be a mere personal Antichrist, as in Second Thessalonians. Still less can he be satisfied with any attempt such

as Luke's (followed by not a few moderns)[3] to make it mean devastating Roman armies, or their military insignia. Because nothing else than the actual erection of an idol or heathen altar will satisfy the real sense of Daniel, as Matthew is quite well aware, and because no such profanation has ever really taken place in the temple, Matthew looks elsewhere. If the temple met its overthrow inviolate, the fulfilment must be looked for in some other locality. This is no unheard-of method. Three centuries later Jerome finds a fulfilment in the erection of an equestrian statue of Hadrian on a spot near the Holy of Holies. Chrysostom finds it in the erection of a statue of Titus on the site of the ruined temple. Moved by the same compulsion of fact, Matthew covers all eventualities by simply omitting the definite article. As we shall see, Josephus himself ascribes the outbreak of the war with its fearful aftermath of woes for the Jewish people to the profanation of *a* holy place, and declares in express terms that the Roman devastation was foretold by Daniel.[4] It remains to determine from the changes introduced in his Markan pattern just what Matthew expected to precede and follow the setting up of the Shiqqutz.

It was not an easy task for Matthew, and will not be for us, to draw a line of demarkation between the overthrow of Jerusalem, which he, in common with Mark, makes the starting point of the whole discourse (Mt. 24:3=Mk. 13:4), and the appearance of "the sign of the Coming" followed by "the consummation of the world," which he introduces as a parallel to Mark's "the sign that all these things (that is, the overthrow of the city and temple) are about to be fulfilled." However, it is probably in part, at least, for the sake of effecting this separation that Matthew has completely rewritten the paragraph of Mark which introduces the profanation, transferring to his Commission of the Twelve (10:17-21) the passage which Mark had placed here (Mk. 13:9-13), and constructing an introduction of his own in which the abominated "teachers of lawlessness" appear as the central evil of the woes to come. We can hardly do justice to the minute care with which Matthew has here made up a new paragraph of his own, almost entirely from scraps of Markan context, save by placing side by side the original, as it appears unaltered in Mt. 10:17-21, and the recast, or substitute, introduced in Mt. 24:9-14 in place of Mk. 13:9-13, before the prediction of the Shiqqutz. Italics will be used to indicate the changes made in the Markan material by the later evangelist.

[3] So *e.g.*, Chajjes.

[4] See above, p. 66, the passage quoted by Swete, and below, p. 110.

Mt. 10:17-21=Mk. 13:9-13.

But beware of men, for they will deliver you up to sanhedrins, and in their synagogues they will scourge you. And ye shall be brought before governors and kings on my account for a witness to them and to the Gentiles. And when they deliver you up take no thought how or what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you. And brother shall deliver up brother unto death and the father his child, and children shall rise up against parents and put them to death. And ye shall be hated by all on account of my name; but he that endureth to the end the same shall be saved.

Mt. 24:9-14. Editorial Recast.

Then will they deliver you up to tribulation and will kill you, and ye shall be hated of all the *Gentiles* on account of my name. *And then shall many be stumbled* (=Dan. 11:41) and shall deliver up one another and hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise and shall deceive many. *And on account of the increase of lawlessness the love of the many will grow cold.* But he that endureth to the end the same shall be saved. And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for witness to all the Gentiles. And then shall the End come.

In the above the substratum is purely Markan. We do not deny that the promise of the Spirit as "advocate" (παράκλητος) before hostile tribunals is derived by Mark in the first instance from the Second Source. On the contrary the fact that Luke gives this logion in duplicate, once in the Markan setting and once in a different context (Lk. 12:11 f.=21:14 f.), is a strong indication that he had it in twofold form. But in the Mission Chapter, Mt. 10:17-22, the entire context and setting are taken verbatim from Mk. 13:9-13, including the promise of the Spirit-Advocate. From the opening warning "Beware of men" (=Mk. 13:9) to the end, where Mic. 7:6 is used to reënforce this warning with a prediction of the hatred of men and an exhortation to endure to the end (Mt. 10:21 f.=Mk. 13:12 f.), we have nothing but Markan material not paralleled elsewhere. If, therefore, the logion promising the Advocate be from the Second Source, it has been inserted by Matthew in his Mission Chapter in the form given it by Mark. We may defer, then, the question of Mark's sources, and recognize in Mt. 10:17-21 the simple transfer *en bloc* of Mk. 13:9-13 to the context of the Sending of the Twelve. If it be asked what occasions this transfer, we have two indications of the reason: (1) The mission of the Twelve is strictly limited to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (10:5 f.). Delivering up "to sanhedrins and synagogues" (Mk. 13:9) may well have suggested to Matthew that this prediction applied more properly to this context. (2) In the substitute paragraph "tribulation" (θλίψις) replaces "synagogues and sanhedrins," and

the predicted hatred is delimited by adding "the Gentiles" after "all" (ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων Mt. 10:22=Mk. 13:13: ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν). These two considerations seem to indicate that Matthew differentiates the "tribulation" (θλῖψις) of the Doom-chapter from the persecutions to be endured by the Twelve according to the Mission chapter. The "tribulation" is that endured by Christians generally in the Gentile world. It is no objection to this differentiation that in 10:18 he takes over along with the rest the prediction of Mk. 13:9b "and ye shall stand before governors and kings for my sake for a witness unto them"; for he probably has not in mind (as appears to be the case with Mark) Paul's citation before Felix, Festus, and Agrippa, and perhaps Nero; or, if he has in mind the same citations as Mark, the witness "to the Gentiles" which he predicts in 10:22 is not thought of as delivered in Gentile territory. That is, it includes Felix, Festus, and Agrippa II, but not Nero. The geographic outlook is determined by the strict limitation of the horizon in the Mission chapter to Palestine (10:23).

If we now turn to the substitute paragraph in the Doom-chapter, Mt. 24:9-14 which replaces Mk. 13:9-13, it will be seen at once by all who have familiarized themselves with Matthew's style and special interest that he has no new material. The entire paragraph is an elaborate patchwork of phrases from the Markan context, plus a phrase from Daniel (Dan. 11:41) and one or two characteristic of Matthew himself. It centers on his special complaint against the "workers of lawlessness" 24:12; *cf.* 7:23; 13:41; 23:28. The paragraph is a typical bit of editorial composition. As a whole it reproduces what Matthew conceives to be the substance and general bearing of the displaced section of Mark. But three changes are noticeable in this substitute: (1) The addition of a further warning in the same terms as Mark employs further on (Mk. 13:21-23=Mt. 24:23-25), but here condensed, against being led astray by "false prophets." (2) Connection of this "error" (πλανή) with the increase of "lawlessness," coldness, and defection of many. (3) Assurance in positive form (in Mk. 13:10 it is negative) that the End will come as soon as "this gospel of the kingdom" has been preached for a witness "throughout the whole world" (ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ).

The assurance, "Then shall the End come" (ver. 14) is placed over against the warning of the previous paragraph (ver. 6=Mk. 13:7): "But the End is not yet." Thus placed, between this warning and the prophecy of the Shiqqutz, and containing its own reiterated warning against the false prophets (vv. 4 f.=ver. 11) the adverb "then" (τότε) becomes very emphatic. The substitute para-

graph can hardly be intended by Matthew otherwise than as a summary of the warning of Mark taken as a whole. This view has support in the οὖν resumptive of verse 15 substituted for the simple δέ of Mark. The sense will be: "Inasmuch as the vicissitudes summed up in verses 4-8 (=Mk. 13:5-9) are but the beginning of the birth-pangs, and the End can only come when the gospel has been proclaimed throughout the entire world, when ye see the Shiqqutz . . . do not be led astray by the false Christs and false prophets." A further strong support of this interpretation is the addition made at the end of this section from Q (Mt. 24:26-28= Lk. 17:23 f., 37). This addition reënforces the warning of Mark not to be led astray in this manner.

The vital question for Matthew's interpretation of the prophecy is the question whether the Shiqqutz, whose real nature he so clearly understands, is something he still awaits, a prophecy not yet fulfilled but sure of fulfilment; or whether he too, taught by the event, knows that there must be a further time of waiting after its appearance, though he encourages his readers to believe that the time will not be long.

It might be possible to hold that Matthew overlooks the manifest connection in the source he is following between the appearance of the Shiqqutz and the events of the Jewish war. On this assumption it could be maintained that the "great tribulation" falling upon "those in Judea" was understood by him as something still to come. But this view is improbable, and has against it the few but vital changes Matthew has made. The nature of these is well expressed by McNeile in his *Commentary ad loc.:*

> In Mk. the reference is vague and cryptic, the masc. ἑστηκότα implying a person or personification, who will stand ὅπου οὐ δεῖ. Mt. notes the fulfilment of prophecy (τὸ ῥηθέν κτλ.); he makes the grammatical correction ἑστός, and writes ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ, which may mean Jerusalem (II Macc. 3:1 f.) or even the Holy Land generally, but probably [?] the temple (Ac. 6:13; 21:28).

We must differ from Dr. McNeile as regards the probability of a reference to the temple in the anarthrous ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ. Had it been the purpose of Matthew to persist in the "vague and cryptic" style of Mark there was no need to alter the phrase "where he ought not." The other changes are made for the sake of showing agreement with Daniel. It can only have been for good reason that Daniel's clear and definite reference to "the sanctuary, even the fortress" should have been replaced by a vague term "which may mean Jerusalem, or even the Holy Land generally." In this case the reason for vagueness is very obvious. "The" sanctuary, even the

fortress, spoken of by Daniel, had never experienced the profanation; but "a" holy place had. The Jewish war, with all its unprecedented horrors, had actually broken out over the profanation of a synagogue at Caesarea by a member of the "Syrian" or Gentile party in the long-standing warfare between Jews and Greeks for the control of the city. Encouraged no doubt by the implicit permission of Caius to such demonstrations outside Jerusalem, this "riotous person" according to Josephus (*War* II. xiv. 5):

> turned an earthen vessel bottom upward at the entrance of the synagogue and sacrificed birds on (the extemporized altar). This thing terribly exasperated the Jews, because their laws were affronted and the place was polluted.

From this provocative act at Caesarea against Jewish religion Josephus dates the outbreak of the great war. Doubtless there were others, especially at Caesarea, who took a similar view, though in such a mass of inflammable material it would have been difficult to identify the first spark of actual conflict. Matthew appears to agree with the view espoused by Josephus. He continues with Mark's description of the "great tribulation" on "those that are in Judea," pointing out that this was a fulfilment of what had been "spoken by Daniel the prophet." He also repeats after it the warning of Mark against the "false Christs and false prophets" who will then arise to lead astray even the elect, reminding them that Jesus himself had foretold this cry "Lo, here; lo, there, is the Christ." But in addition to transcribing the warning of Mark he supplements by adding, as we have seen, further extracts from the same Q discourse on which Mark had drawn in 13:15 f., 21 (*cf.* Mt. 24:26-28=Lk. 17:22-24, 31, 37).

This entire paragraph of Mt. 24:15-28, beginning with the resumptive "therefore," must accordingly be treated as epexegetical to the preceding paragraph, verses 3-14. The "great tribulation" on "those that are in Judea" particularizes the general warning of the tribulations spoken of in verses 8 and 9. Similarly the general warnings not to be led astray in verses 4 f. and 11 look forward to those of 23-25 and 26-28. The reader is not meant to understand that there will be *several* periods during which he must be on his guard against "false prophets and false Christs," but he is given repeated warnings of the *same* period of especial danger. It will be after the "great tribulation" to be expected when the profanation of a holy place (that in Caesarea?) shall have kindled the flame of revolt. Matthew here gives every indication of having been "taught by the event."

A third paragraph (Mt. 24:29-31=Mk. 13:24-27) brings in the

description of "the End." There is slight variation from Mark, principally the addition in verses 30 f. of the Mourning of the Tribes from Zech. 12 : 10, and the Last Trump from Is. 27 : 13. Only the addition of the single adverb "immediately" (εὐθέως) in verse 29 causes difficulty to supporters of the priority of Mark, though in the judgment of McNeile "Matthew is probably not more original, but only more circumstantial." This, however, is not a sufficient answer. The change from the Markan form "But in those days, after that tribulation" to "immediately," etc., is intended as an improvement. Matthew desires to give more definite encouragement to a suffering Church. It is true that he has not a different chronology, but only a different tone, or emphasis, in repeating the same chronology. But "Daniel the prophet" seems to him to warrant the adverb "immediately" (*cf.* Dan. 12 : 1). The time is indeed "nearer than when they first believed."

It is needful to keep here in mind Matthew's recast of the middle paragraph of Mark and attachment of this substitute as a kind of supplement to the first paragraph. We learn from it that to Matthew's view the whole period of sufferings is one, and that it includes the period of "tribulation" (θλίψις) *among the Gentiles*,[5] the period of apostasy, the period of coldness in the Church and the growth of "lawlessness," the period of the false prophets and false Christs, and the period of the preaching of the gospel of the kingdom to the whole world, as well as the particular "great tribulation" to "those that are in Judea." The period in which all this is included, *not* the mere period of the Jewish war, is that which Matthew means by "the tribulation of those days." It is after this that he predicts an "immediate" coming of "the sign of the Son of Man in heaven." How long the "great tribulation" which follows the profanation of "a holy place" was expected to continue one cannot say. But the close correspondence with the catastrophe of 66-70, in particular the greater definiteness and circumstantiality of Matthew as compared with Mark, make it most difficult not to include the Domitianic persecution. Like his predecessor Mark our first evangelist also appears to look back to the great war and the fate of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. (*cf.* 22 : 7) as having already fulfilled the earlier events foretold by "Daniel the prophet." But the suffering has not ceased. The "great tribulation" on "those that are in Judea" and the flight from Jerusalem are for him the beginning

[5] The language employed is apparently intended to distinguish this later and more extensive persecution from the sufferings (διωγμός) which the Twelve must expect to be inflicted on them among their fellow-countrymen (Mt. 10: 16-23).

of those world-wide wrongs under which the Church in his day still groaned. Only the End, the promised deliverance by the Coming of the Son of Man from heaven to gather his elect with the sound of the archangel's trump, is for Matthew still in the future. But it is not far off. These are things which "must shortly come to pass." Such is the invariable hope of Jewish and Jewish-Christian apocalypse.

CHAPTER X

THE DOOM-CHAPTER IN LUKE

Critics who still venture to affirm that the alterations of Luke in the Eschatological Discourse of Mark show the later evangelist to have been "taught by the event" have at least three formidable antagonists, one an eminent classical scholar, another the leading church-historian of our generation, the third a Semitic philologian of the first rank. In meeting invaders such as Blass, Harnack, and Torrey the New Testament critic will be wise to employ proved weapons from his own armory.

It is no small advantage to approach the question from a complete study of the development of New Testament eschatology as a whole. Accepting heartily the verdict of Professor Torrey that the Shiqqutz prophecy of Mk. 13:14 cannot be accounted for save as a product of the crisis of the year 40, we have seen that this prophecy, while no doubt originally promulgated as "a word of the Lord" in the same sense as the Revelation of John (Rev. 1:1), clearly represents in the main a revival and application of the vision of Daniel concerning the profanation of the temple (Dan. 9:24-27; 11:31; 12:11-13). We have also seen that in order to maintain the general and essential truth of this "word of the Lord," after the failure (through the assassination of Caligula, Jan. 24, 41) of its literal fulfilment, it would be necessary to show that while the actual setting up of the Shiqqutz had not taken place, the tyrant having even granted special exemption to the temple before his death, still the larger menace was only postponed. Such postponement is the outstanding characteristic in the eschatology of Second Thessalonians with its new feature of the "Restrainer."

Even in 50-64 the threat still impended. Jewish and Christian monotheism was again rapidly nearing a repetition of the desperate conflict against Antiochus. To broader minds such as Paul's this was an unmistakable sign of the times. To minds accustomed to the half-mythological imagery of apocalypse this irrepressible conflict of worshippers of the true God against the forces of irreligion, ever increasing throughout the empire and ever taking refuge under the sycophantic pretext of Caesar-worship, would readily assume the dramatic form of a parody of messianic redemption. In First Thes-

salonians we actually find, during the Pauline period if not from Paul's own pen, such a recasting of the Danielic prophecy. Instead of the material Shiqqutz in the temple we find "a person or personification." Beliar (a Hebraic personification of the powers of evil) is to become incarnate in the person of a Man of Sin, an inverted messiah or Antichrist, who will carry out the Danielic program at least to the extent of a desecrating self-manifestation "in the temple of God." If the profanation prophecy of Mark cannot be understood save as a product of the crisis of 40 A.D. we are certainly justified in saying that the Thessalonian eschatology, including the Antichrist doctrine of Second Thessalonians, can only be understood as a modification of it, adapting it to the changed circumstances of the year 50.

We have also examined another and more studied recast of the same "prophecy" in which the salient feature is the effort to bring it into the most exact conformity to the Scriptural original that the actual course of events would allow. Matthew shows decisive evidence of an origin considerably later than Mark, in fact would by most critics be regarded as clearly subsequent to the punishment meted out by the "king" in the parable of the Slighted Invitation, who "sent his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burned their city" (Mt. 22:7). By his direct reference to "Daniel the prophet" (not mentioned in Mark), and his alterations bringing the Markan apocalypse into closer conformity to Old Testament prophecy, more especially to Daniel, it would seem undeniable that in the Matthean form of the Doom-chapter, as in other passages of the same Gospel, strict and literal "fulfilment of the Scripture" was a strongly influential motive. Reënforcement by added Q sayings is also here present, as in Luke; but theories of a separate and more primitive form of the Little Apocalypse in the hands of Matthew, apart from his use of Mark and Q, are gratuitous. Once again we find that the basis of the "prophecy" remains unaltered, though the evangelist permits himself certain adaptations of the form. These changes are always in line with the evangelist's own individual predilections, as well as the exigencies of current conditions.

It is clearly possible for historians and philologians alike to deny that we have in the case of Luke's alterations in the Doom-chapter of Mark, any reflection of current events. For in fact the denial is actually made. But it is less easy to make when a preliminary study has been engaged in, showing the actual process of development in primitive Christian eschatology. In the face of Pauline and Matthean adaptations it is surely difficult to maintain that still

later changes from the Markan form were not made because Luke was "taught by the event." At least if such was not the cause those who deny it remain debtors for a better explanation. Luke does not elsewhere make changes from his Markan model without a reason, especially changes such as the following:

Mk. 13:14-19	Lk. 21:20-24
14 But when ye see the abomination of desolation taking his stand where he ought not (let him that readeth understand), then let those that are in Judea flee into the mountains. 15 Let him that is on the house-top not come down nor enter to take anything out of his house. 16 And he that is gone out to the field, let him not return back to fetch his garment. 17 And woe unto them that are great with child, and to them that give suck in those days. 18 But pray that it happen not in winter. 19 For those days shall be tribulation such as hath not occurred from the foundation of the creation that God created until now, and never shall be. 20 And if the Lord had not cut short the days no flesh would have been saved. But for the sake of the elect whom he foreordained he cut short the days.	20 But when ye see *Jerusalem compassed with armies* then know that *her* desolation *has come near.* 21 Then let those that are in Judea flee into the mountains, *and they that are in the midst of her let them go forth; and let those that are in the environs not enter into her; 22 for these are days of vengeance, to accomplish all things that are written.* 23 Woe unto them that are great with child, and to them that give suck in those days. *For there shall be great distress upon the land and wrath toward this people. 24 And they shall fall by the mouth of the sword and be carried captive among all the nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled.*

The changes marked here by italic type show that this paragraph, left practically untouched by Matthew, has been almost completely rewritten by Luke (on the basis, as we shall see, of a source of Jewish type, saturated with Old Testament phraseology, which Luke has elsewhere embodied). Just enough remains of the Markan pattern to show that it really constitutes the foundation. Thus Luke's opening verse (21:20) retains the word "desolation" (ἐρήμωσις) from the model, and reproduces the Markan warning (taken from Dan. 9:23) "Let him that readeth (ἀναγινώσκων) understand" in the form "Then know ye" (τότε γνῶτε). The siege forces of Vespasian here take the place of the Shiqqutz. But while the original is not wanting in traits which show clearly that the "great tribulation," from which "those that are in Judea" are to flee to the mountains is certainly the suffering of A.D. 66-70, Luke has re-

cast the prediction from motives of his own. These are worth examining by a little closer scrutiny.

It has already been intimated that the Discourse as compiled by Mark attaches certain logia which occur elsewhere in Luke and Matthew, and may therefore be referred with high probability to the Second Source. Among these are the two sayings on Flight from Housetop and Field (Mk. 13:15 f.) and the Cry Lo, here; Lo, there (Mk. 13:21 f.). Both these occur in duplicate in Luke (21:21=17:31, and 17:21=17:23), the latter in duplicate in Matthew also (Mt. 24:11=24:23-28). Both Matthew and Luke avoid *noticeable* duplication by rewriting. Thus Lk. 17:31, which is the real logion in practically the same form which Mark has taken over (very inappropriately) in 13:15 f., is thus rewritten:

Lk. 17:31 (*cf.* Mk. 13:15 f.)

In that day he that is upon the house-top and his belongings in the house, let him not come down to carry them off; and he that is in the field likewise, let him not return back.

Lk. 21:21

And let those that are in the midst of her (Jerusalem) go forth; and those that are in the environs let them not enter into her.

So complete is the difference that we might never have recognized that the two stand for the same utterance had not Luke placed the second exactly in the context corresponding to its Markan parallel. What he further appends is in line with the utterance of this Special Source on the "vengeance" executed by God for the sake of His elect (*cf.* Lk. 4:19; 18:7 f.), and is cast in Old Testament phraseology (Is. 61:2; Hos. 9:7):

For these are days of vengeance to accomplish all things that are written.

The next lines ("Woe to them that are great with child," etc.) resume the thread of Mark, only to depart from it immediately by omitting the enigmatical verse "Pray that your flight be not in winter" (Mk. 13:18), and the apocalyptic saying on the "shortening of the days" (Mk. 13:20; *cf.* "Enoch" *ap. Ps.-Barn.* iv. 1). The remainder, in which Mark had described the "great tribulation" in terms borrowed from Dan. 12:1, Luke turns into a plain prediction of the "wrath upon this land," the slaughter and captivity of its people, and the treading down of Jerusalem by the Gentiles until the fulfilment of their "times." The phraseology is Jewish, recalling Ecclus. 28:18, and with direct employment of Zech. 12:3 (LXX). We have the same impression as before that it is not the Gentile Luke who is directly responsible for these changes, but some Jewish-

Christian hand, more expert in the Scriptures than the client of Theophilus.

It is needless to continue our comparison of Luke's recast of the Markan discourse by a detailed survey of the section on the Coming (Lk. 21:25-28=Mk. 13:24-27). It is worthy of note that Mark's second warning against the false Christs and false prophets who will appear after the Great Tribulation with the cry "Lo, here is the Christ" is omitted by Luke. He seems to have considered one such warning sufficient—that given at the outset (Lk. 21:8 f.). The omission only makes Mark's special solicitude more noticeable. As we have already seen, Mark is using for this a Q logion. Perhaps it is because Luke is aware of this that he omits the passage here, having given it in more authentic form at 17:20 f. The prediction of the Coming repeats the substance of Mk. 13:24-27 with broad differences of great interest to the student of the Special Source of Luke and its relation to Mark, but not of immediate concern for our present enquiry. We merely note that its tone, like that of Matthew, is distinctly a tone of encouragement to expect the Coming soon. But is it reasonable to maintain, in spite of the changes from Mark, that the writer is not aware of the fall of Jerusalem?

We have one further item of evidence in answer to this question. Luke introduces after Mark's account of the Entry into Jerusalem (Mk. 11:1-10) a section corresponding to Matthew's Justification of the Children's Hosannas (Lk. 19:39 f.=Mt. 21:15 f.), and upon this a Lament over Jerusalem (19:41-44). This section is so typically a product of the same pen which has given us the recast of the Markan Doom-chapter that there will probably be none to dispute their affinity, the additions in both cases being entirely peculiar to Luke. The case for coloration of the prediction of Jerusalem's fall by the event would not be complete without the addition of this exquisite poem:

> And when he drew nigh, he saw the city and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee when thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall dash thee to the ground and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.

In Luke this section forms a substitute for Mark's story of the Cursing of the Fig Tree, given in Lk. 13:6-9 in form of a parable. The section offers a kind of parallel to the Markan Eschatological Discourse opened by the scene of Jesus sitting opposite the temple, predicting its fate. It also is founded on the saying "Not one stone

shall be left upon another.'' One might easily imagine it a later, more poetic (and far more sympathetic) development of Mark's story. But whether there be literary dependence or not, and on whichever side priority lies, two inferences may surely be drawn:

(1) The Lukan alterations in the profanation prophecy of Mark are less arbitrary than might otherwise appear. For in substituting ''When ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies'' in place of ''When ye see the abomination of desolation taking his stand where he ought not'' Luke is not using his own words, but those of a source (the so-called Special Source of Luke) scarcely employed outside this Gospel. Of this Special Source it is a distinctive and characteristic feature to introduce systematically on appropriate occasions in the discourse of Jesus clear predictions of the fate of Jerusalem in consequence of its disregard of the warning to repent. Its eschatology is given at length in Lk. 12:35—13:9, the parable of the Barren Fig Tree forming its conclusion. The preceding paragraph (Lk. 13:1-5) is a definite prediction of the slaughter of an unrepentant Israel by the sword of the Romans, and the crushing of the inhabitants of Jerusalem under the crumbling walls of their city. The parable of the Fig Tree (''Lo, these three years I come seeking fruit'') shows what is meant in the closing words of our first extract ''the time of thy visitation.'' Isolate the Special Source of Luke and one obtains a document wherein references to the fate of Jerusalem stand out in unexampled clearness.

Lk. 13:22-35 is largely in the same tone as its sequel. But it is partly shared by Matthew, and might therefore be regarded as of doubtful derivation from the Special Source. Passing over this we adduce as of manifestly identical derivation the section added by Luke to the story of the leading forth to crucifixion (Lk. 23:27-31):

> And there followed him a great multitude of the people, and of women who were bewailing and lamenting him. But Jesus, turning unto them said: Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For behold, the days are coming, in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the breasts that never gave suck (cf. Mk. 13:17). Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us. For if they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

If one put together in a single series these extracts from the Special Source of Luke it will be manifest that his alterations in the Eschatological Discourse of Mark are not made solely on his own responsibility. Also in view of the highly poetical nature and form of these extracts, their marked correspondence with the actualities of the siege, and the strong contrast between them and the refer-

ences of Mark both as to sympathetic feeling and deep realization of the horrors of the war, it will be apparent that whether earlier or later than Mark they reflect the sorrow of one whose heart has been wrung by the actual experience of the siege.

(2) A second inference to be drawn from the perception that Luke's alterations in the Markan Discourse have a basis in his Special Source is the fact of his preference here for this Source. Mark is usually Luke's main reliance. He does not alter its statements without strong reason. In this case he has entirely set aside the idea of a profanation, whether through Antichrist or through some more material object of idolatrous worship. How is this to be accounted for? If only one account of this profanation prophecy existed it might be possible to imagine both the Special Source and Luke personally setting it aside out of pure dislike or skepticism as to its authenticity, quite untaught "by the event." When one has reviewed the entire history of this strongly entrenched factor in primitive church eschatology, from its promulgation and acceptance as "a word of the Lord" in the crisis of 40 A.D. down to its final reassertion by Matthew in terms assimilated as closely as possible to Scripture, especially the Danielic original, he will be less ready to maintain that Luke and his Special Source give no evidence of having been "taught by the event."

CHAPTER XI

THE DOOM-CHAPTER IN MARK[1]

One can perhaps understand the common impression expressed by Gould to the effect that the Eschatological Discourse of Mark shows that the destruction of Jerusalem "was impending," and more cautiously by Swete in his reference to "the absence of any indication that Jerusalem had already fallen," when one approaches the question from the side of Luke, characterized as this later Gospel is by much clearer indications. Relatively, as is quite obvious, the later Gospel is that in which the critic must first see (or perhaps fail to see) that the evangelist has been taught by the event. Mark has certainly not discarded out and out the entire expectation of a profanation by Shiqqutz, as Luke has done. He merely takes extraordinary pains to warn the Church not to imagine that the end will come immediately after this, and not to be misled by the cries of Lo, here; Lo, there, emitted by the false Christs and false prophets whose activity may be expected at that time. As for the Shiqqutz it is still definitely to be expected. Where, in what form, under what relation to the Coming, we have still to enquire. Clearly the Lukan alterations, entirely eliminating the profanation feature in favor of descriptions of the siege, represent a later development.

If, then, it be only a question as between two, no account being taken of changes made by Mark upon some still earlier form of the prophecy, one may easily receive the impression that Luke has been taught by the event, whereas Mark has not. *As compared with Luke* there is indeed in Mark "absence of any indication that Jerusalem has already fallen." But to reason in this way is as if one should say: "The heightening of the marvelous in the Gospels is one of the features indicative of the priority of Mark. The miracles of Mark are relatively simple. Therefore they have experienced no heightening at all." Admitting that the process of adjustment to the event has continued *after* Mark, we have now to enquire whether earlier stages of the process have not left perceptible traces within the Markan Doom-chapter itself. The survey already made

[1] For specially instructive source-analysis of the Eschatological Discourse in Mark see *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, by Sanday *et al.* (1911), in particular the discussion by Streeter on pp. 179-183 of "The Apocalypse of Mk. xiii."

of the lines of development of primitive church eschatology should help us to decide.

The agglutinative process by which later evangelists have constructed long discourses out of brief sayings of Jesus, a process carried to the furthest extreme by Matthew, is still at its first beginnings in Mark. Scarcely more than three such composite discourses can be counted in this Gospel, a Discourse on Receiving *versus* Stumbling (Mk. 9:30-50), a Discourse on the Mystery of the Kingdom as Revealed in Parables (4:1-34), and the Eschatological Discourse. To these some might perhaps be disposed to add the Discourse on Inward Purity (7:1-23) and the Parable of the Usurpers in the Vineyard (12:1-12). In all five cases, however, Mark has a more or less stereotyped method. A particular saying, significant for his purpose, becomes the point of departure for a series of loosely connected logia of kindred (or supposedly kindred) nature, usually in the form of later explanation to the inner circle. Thus after the Parable of the Sower there is withdrawal on the part of Jesus and the Twelve for further explanation and elaboration of the teaching in private (4:10 ff.). After the teaching on Inward Purity the same scene is repeated (7:17 ff.; *cf.* 10:10). After the Discourse on Receiving *versus* Stumbling we have again the same (9:33). The Eschatological Discourse merely applies this conventional method on the larger scale, attaching to the great saying on the Spiritual Temple (13:1 f.) an interpretative discourse uttered by Jesus to a group of the four first-called disciples "privately, as he sat on the Mount of Olives over against the temple." The whole discourse, accordingly, is to be understood as an interpretation in greater detail to the inner circle of the contents of the saying reported by Mark in the form: "There shall not be left here one stone upon another which shall not be thrown down." The whole discourse has reference to the overthrow of the temple.

In view of the more spiritual form in which this saying of Jesus on the superseding of the visible temple has been taken up in the Pauline Epistles and elsewhere, we must raise the question whether here at the very outset we have not already indications of adaptation by Mark to the idea of a definite prediction on Jesus' part of the events of 66-70; for, as we have seen, the saying in itself considered does not require specific application. In the Special Source of Luke, as already noted, the parallel is in the form "they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another," and in this source the specific prediction of the overthrow of Jerusalem is ascribed to Jesus on several occasions.

After this stage-setting the Doom-chapter of Mark proceeds with

the Discourse to the Four which we have already recognized to be a typical Markan agglutination. Several of the factors show by their double appearance in Matthew and Luke that they have been drawn (like a number of brief logia in Mark) from Q material.[2] Besides these we have unmistakable borrowings (direct or indirect) from Scripture, including not only Daniel, but in verse 8 Is. 19:2, in verse 12 Mic. 7:6, and in verse 24 Is. 13:10 and 34:4. In verse 20 we even appear to have an *Enoch* fragment quoted in *Barn.* iv. 3 though not otherwise known. But as universally recognized, even by critics who refuse to admit the use of any separate written source, we have as the skeleton and outline of the whole discourse a typical Little Apocalypse centering on the Danielic prediction of the Shiqqutz, and applied exactly as Paul applies the same doctrine, *viz.,* for the repression of the exaggerated expectations of the Thessalonians of an immediate Coming of the Lord. In order to determine the question whether we have indeed in this carefully constructed Eschatological Discourse evidence of adaptation to the changed conditions of the period after the overthrow of the temple we must effect some analysis of the agglutination into its elements. Fortunately we have the means of doing this in the parallels, among which we should not fail to include the Little Apocalypse of Paul.

Besides the later parallels already discussed in Matthew and Luke we have observed already certain duplicates in these later Gospels, indicating their employment of another source, or sources. In particular we have found an extended eschatological discourse in Lk. 12:1-12, 35-59; 13:1-9, closing with the warning to Jerusalem of its impending overthrow and the parable of the Barren Fig Tree. These sections we found reason to connect with the so-called Special Source of Luke. This source has unmistakable literary relation with the latter part of Mark if only because of the incident of the Barren Fig Tree (Lk. 13:6-9=Mk. 11:12-14, 20-23). Like the Markan Doom-chapter this Q eschatology follows the Woes on Scribes and Pharisees (Lk. 11:37-54=Mk. 12:38-40). A far-flung fragment extends to Lk. 13:34 f.=Mt. 23:37-39.

We shall not here reproduce the section on Watchfulness for the Coming (Lk. 12:35-46=Mt. 24:43-25:13), although this also has its briefer parallel in Mk. 13:35 f. We shall merely set in parallel columns the Warning of Persecutions to be Endured as it appears in Mk. 13:9-11, 12 f., placing in the left-hand column the parallel material of the Lukan Special Source in the order given by Mark

[2] Not necessarily from the Second Source. The symbol Q is used to signify non-Markan material found coincidently in Matthew and Luke regardless of its derivation from one source or another.

and enclosing in square brackets the portions which seem to have been added by this evangelist. Priority as between particular logia and later development into consecutive prediction will not be difficult to determine.

Lk. 12:11 f., 49-53=21:12-19.	Mk. 13:9-11, 12 f.
Promise of the Advocate	
(*Cf.* Lk. 12:11 f.)	[9 But take ye heed to yourselves: for they shall deliver you up to councils; and in synagogues shall ye be beaten; and before governors and kings shall ye stand for my sake, for a testimony unto them. 10 And the gospel must first be preached to all the nations.]
(*Cf.* Acts 23:11; 25:23 ff.)	
(*Cf.* Acts 1:6-8.)	
11 And when they bring you before the synagogues, and the rulers and the authorities, be not anxious how or what ye shall answer, or what ye shall say: 12 for the Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour what ye ought to say.	11 And when they lead you to judgment, and deliver you up, be not anxious beforehand what ye shall speak; but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye; for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Spirit.
Warning of Division in Households. *Cf.* Mic. 7:6.	
49 I came to cast fire upon the earth; and what will I if it be already kindled? 50 But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished? 51 Think ye that I am come to give peace in the earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division: 52 for there shall be from henceforth five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three. 53 They shall be divided father against son, and son against father; mother against daughter, and daughter against mother; mother in law against her daughter in law, and daughter in law against her mother in law.	(*Cf.* Mk. 10:38.)
	12 And brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child; and children shall rise up against parents and cause them to be put to death.
(*Cf.* Dan. 11:35; 12:12.)	[13 And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake: but he that endureth to the end the same shall be saved.]

Manifestly Mark is not interested in the logion about Division in Families for its own sake, nor as a fulfilment of Mic. 7:6, but only

as it may serve to prove Jesus' foreknowledge and prediction of the sufferings Christians would have to undergo in the Empire at large, at the hands of "all men" on account of the Name. The Division in Households of the original logion becomes in his adaptation a prediction of betrayal to the persecuting authorities by treacherous kinsfolk, the notorious "delatores" of Roman persecution.

Pursuing still the order of the Markan agglutination we come next to the crucial verse predicting the temple profanation. It is highly important to observe what follows as parallel to this in the context of the Special Source. It is the exhortation of Lk. 12:54 ff. to *Read the Signs of the Times:*

Lk. 12:54-13:5.

54 And he said to the Multitudes also, When ye see a cloud rising in the west, straightway ye say, There cometh a shower; and so it cometh to pass. . . . How is it that ye know not how to interpret this time? (Example of the Galileans whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices and the men of Jerusalem on whom the tower in Siloam fell, with the warning, Except ye repent ye shall all perish in like manner.)

Mk. 13:14.

14 But when ye see the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not (let him that readeth understand). (The passage referred to is Dan. 12:11. Mark continues with a warning to "them that are in Judaea" to "flee to the mountains," adapting to this certain logia from the Special Source (Lk. 17:31; 23:29 f.; 17:22 f.) and passages from Daniel (Dan. 12:1) and Isaiah (Is. 10:23; *cf.* Rom. 9:28). The whole section, verses 14-23, intermingles apocalyptic Scripture with Q logia.)

Beyond question Q elements enter into the Markan agglutination. This is admitted by nearly all critics. But what most requires to be observed is Mark's relation to the Special Source of Luke, particularly its Eschatological Discourse. It begins at Lk. 12:1-9 with an Exhortation to Fearless Confession closely paralleled in Mt. 10:26-33. This, then, is unmistakably Q material. A duplicate appears in Lk. 21:12-19, but this is manifestly due to the fact that this chapter of Luke as a whole rests on the Doom-chapter of Mark, though (as we have seen above) Luke has made some changes and additions by recomparison of the Special Source (Q). A typical instance is his addition in the closing verse (Mk. 13:13=Lk. 21:17 f.) of the Q promise "The very hairs of your head are all numbered" (Lk. 12:7=Mt. 10:30). In the Markan context of Lk. 21:18 the saying becomes almost inexplicable. One is forced to understand it in a transcendental or mystical sense. Restored to the Q context of 12:6-9=Mt. 10:29-33 it shines with true poetic beauty.

It is apparent thus from the very start that the Q form and con-

text is the more original. As we proceed to compare the omissions and additions of Mark this becomes more unmistakable with every step.

The prediction of Delivering up to Sanhedrins and Synagogues is supplemented in Mk. 13:9b-10 by a specific reference to Citation before Governors and Kings and to the World-wide Proclamation of the Gospel, which Luke reproduces in 21:12b, 13 and Matthew in 10:18, but which is rightly wanting in Lk. 12:11 f. *Per contra* Mark has no use for the introductory words of the prophecy about Division in Households (Lk. 12:49-53=Mt. 10:34-36), because he takes no interest in the general principle that the new religion must be expected to bring a sword even into the bosom of family life (*cf.* Lk. 2:34 f.), but only in Jesus' having foretold the inhuman villainy of the *delatores.* Mark therefore omits the opening words of the saying (save for an incidental touch elsewhere, Mk. 10:38) and changes *household* enmity (put in appropriate language borrowed from Mic. 7:5 f.) into definite prediction of "delivering up to death." Once more, in the form which they take from Mark (Mt. 10:21=Lk. 21:16) both Matthew and Luke reproduce this adaptation. The kinsfolk "deliver unto death." In the Q form we have the simple (and original) prediction that the Gospel will surely bring estrangement in families. The Markan form gives every indication of later adaptation to the specific known event, the work of the *delatores.*

In the closing verse of this paragraph Mark adds a further reference to the fact that this persecution will be *world-wide,* and *for the Name of Christ* (a further glance at later conditions; *cf.* I Pt. 5:9) and an assurance based on the prophecy of Daniel that deliverance will come after endurance "to the End." With this addition begin the characteristic importations from Daniel. Surely it is a striking fact, considering how largely the Little Apocalypse of Mark is based on the Great Apocalypse of Daniel, that not a single phrase from Daniel has left its impress on the Q eschatology of Lk. 12:1-13:9. The Special Source of Luke has unmistakable forecasts of the destruction of Jerusalem. From beginning to end it reads like one long *vaticinium ex eventu.* Its author laments over Israel and its unrepentant cities that knew not the time of their rejected opportunity. His refrain is "If thou hadst known; if thou hadst known!" He goes to the limit of tact in reminding the sufferers that they had received forewarning through the word of Christ. *But there is no trace whatever of any prediction of the coming of Antichrist, or of profanation of the temple.* Mark's use of Q material here seems clearly established. But certainly Mark did

not get his prophecy of the Shiqqutz from the Special Source of Luke.

Except for the two editorial touches in verses 9b-10 and 13 the whole of Mk. 13 : 9-13 is pure Q material. The remainder, dominated though it is by motives traceable only to the Thessalonian Epistles and Daniel, does not lack a Q basis. This has already been pointed out as respects the inappropriate direction to flee from the housetop (Mk. 13 : 15 f.). In Lk. 21 : 21 this has been reduced to a form better adapted to the actual conditions, in accordance with the general Lukan redaction. But in Lk. 17 : 31 we have the original Q logion in its proper connection, where nothing remains unintelligible; because the saying is *not* a warning to flee, as Mark represents it, but on the contrary a warning of the hopelessness of flight. The whole long discourse on the Coming of the Son of Man in Lk. 17 : 22-37, only part of which is reproduced in Mt. 24 : 37-41, is a series of comparisons to show how the Coming cannot be calculated in advance nor escaped by flight. As the deluge caught the generation of Noah unawares, and the fire from heaven overtook the men of Sodom, so attempts to flee from the wrath of God will be as futile as attempts to escape the lightning which passes instantaneously from horizon to horizon. Hence while the verbal echo in Mk. 13 : 21, reproducing the warning against the cry, "Lo, here (is the Christ); Lo, there," is not far from the sense of Lk. 17 : 22 f., and one may also see a general echo in Mk. 13 : 32 of the teaching of this Q passage, the principal extract in Mk. 13 : 15 f., is a decided perversion of the sense. Once more the motive seems to be to find a more definite prediction of the situation as it actually took form in the crisis of 66-70.

In presence of so many other indications that Mark is using the poetic representations of the Lukan Special Source for the purpose of finding definite prose predictions, we are justified in explaining the perplexing clause "flee unto the mountains" in verse 14, together with the reference to the sufferings of mothers with young children in verse 17, by the underlying Q material. The Special Source of Luke is repeatedly reflected in Mark in borrowed expressions such as "leave not one stone upon another" (Lk. 19 : 44= Mk. 13 : 2). It will be found habitual with Mark in other passages, such as the Temptation Story, thus to eliminate discourse sections while retaining a descriptive phrase or two (*cf.* Mk. 1 : 12 f.; 8 : 33 with Mt. 4 : 1-11=Lk. 4 : 1-11). We have noted in Mk. 10 : 38 a parallel case, and shall have occasion to notice others.[3] If now we

[3] *Cf.* Mk. 10 : 21 ("treasure in heaven") with Mt. 6 : 19=Lk. 12 : 32. On Mk. 4 : 11 (=Mt. 11 : 25=Lk. 10 : 21) see below.

turn to the section of this Special Source in which Jesus on his way to the cross makes his last mournful utterance concerning the fate of Jerusalem we shall find the two expressions which best explain the clauses "Let them that are in Judea flee to the mountains," and "Woe to them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days." The equivalent expressions in the Special Source are found in Lk. 23:29 f.:

> The days are coming in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the breasts that never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us.

Translated into very bald prose this is a prediction that the inhabitants of Judea will in fact "flee to the mountains," and that the sufferings of that time will bear with peculiar hardship on the mothers of young children. The tendency of Mark thus to translate oriental poetry into occidental prose has but too many examples.

Having shown the composite character of Mark's Doom-chapter, and (it is hoped) made some advance toward identifying the evangelic source from which Mark derives his really historical utterances of Jesus, we may turn next to the remainder, a Little Apocalypse, based on the Danielic prophecy of profanation of the temple as prelude to "the End." We have already noted that this "prophecy" can only be accounted for in this Christian adaptation as a product of the crisis of the year 40. Parallel to it, if not a direct development from it, is the Pauline Little Apocalypse presented in the year 50 as "a word of the Lord" in the Thessalonian Epistles, elsewhere as a "mystery" or "revelation" (I Cor. 15:51). This eschatology in the Pauline form has been adapted to the changed circumstances under Claudius in two respects: (1) Postponement; by the supplement of the "Restrainer"; (2) personalization, by the substitution of an incarnation of Beliar as "Antichrist" in place of the material Shiqqutz previously expected as a profanation of the temple. Let us next return to the Doom-chapter of Mark. Removing its Q elements we endeavor to see how far the remainder can be accounted for as an attempt of Mark to weave in the Little Apocalypse with equal justice to Daniel on the one hand, and such modifications on the other as had been required by events as they transpired, including the possibility that the two important steps above defined had already been taken in the Thessalonian eschatology. Our parallel columns in the present case will include on the one side this "remainder" of Mark 13:3-27, on the other (by reference only) the parallels from apocalyptic writers (especially Daniel) and the Pauline eschatology.

Mk. 13: 3-27.

3 And as he was sitting on the mount of Olives over against the temple, Peter and James and John and Andrew asked him privately, 4 Tell us, when shall these things (the overthrow of the temple) be? and what shall be the sign when these things are all about to be accomplished? 5 And Jesus began to say unto them, Take heed that no man lead you astray. 6 Many will come in my name saying I am he; and shall lead many astray.

7 And when ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars, be not roused to alarm: These things must needs come to pass; but the End is not yet. 8 For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; there shall be earthquakes in divers places; there shall be famines: these things are the beginning of travail.

. . . 14 But when ye see the abomination that maketh desolate taking his stand where he ought not (let him that readeth understand), . . . 18 pray that it happened not in winter. 19 For those days shall be tribulation, such as there hath not been the like from the beginning of the creation which God created until now, and never shall be.

20 And except the Lord had shortened the days, no flesh would have been saved; but for the elect's sake whom he chose, he shortened the days.

21 And then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is the Christ; or, Lo, there [*cf.* Lk. 17: 21-23]; believe it not: 22 for there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show signs and wonders, that they may lead astray, if possible, the elect. 23 But take ye heed:

Paul and Apocalypse.
(Lk. 19: 37, 41 ff.)

The great Apostasy (Dan. 11: 30b, 34b). The "working of error to believe a lie"=II Thess. 2: 1-3, 9-11.

"Be not roused to alarm." The Coming is not immediate. II Thess. 2: 1 f.

(Is. 19: 2.)

(Is. 13: 8 f.)

The Profanation. Dan. 9: 24-27; 11: 31, 36-39; 12: 11=II Thess. 2: 4, 8 ff.

(Dan. 9: 22 ff.)

The Great Tribulation.
(Dan. 12: 1). I Thess. 3: 4.

The Shortening of the days. An apocalyptic trait seemingly based on Is. 28: 22. It appears in the *Enoch* fragment *Barn.* iv. 3; and similar doctrine in *Ap. Bar.* xx. 1 f., liv. 1; lxxxiii. 1, 6=Rom. 9: 28.

The Lying wonders. II Thess. 2: 9-12. *Cf. Teaching of the Twelve,* xvi. 4.

behold, I have told you all things beforehand.

24 But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened and the moon shall not give her light, 25 and the stars shall be falling from heaven, and the powers that are in the heavens shall be shaken. 26 And then shall they see the Son of Man coming in clouds with great power and glory. 27 And then shall he send forth the angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of the heaven.

The Coming of the Son of Man and Gathering of the Elect. I Thess. 1:10; 4:16 f. II Thess. 1:7-10; 2:1. I Cor. 15:51 f. Eph. 6:12. (Is. 13:10; 34:4.)

Dan. 7:13 (*Teaching* xvi. 7).

Zech. 14:5 (*Teaching* ix. 4; xvi. 6).

This section of Mark is properly named The Little Apocalypse. Its character is unmistakable. On the other hand if we keep in mind two known factors (a) the "word of the Lord" or "mystery" presupposed in references of Paul; (b) Paul's own practical application of the teaching, it will be clear that theories of a special document, a "prophecy" given currency immediately before the siege of Jerusalem, a leaflet, brochure, or pamphlet circulated by itself in Christian circles leading to the flight to Pella, are needless. Obviously the "prophecy" is fundamentally an interpretation of apocalyptic Scripture, more especially Daniel. Obviously it has been re-compared with Daniel. What Matthew has done for Mark in assimilating the prediction to the precise (or almost precise) words "spoken by Daniel the prophet" had been already begun by Mark himself. Paul speaks of "the manifestation of the Man of Sin" or "the Lawless One." Mark reverts to Daniel (though without mentioning the name) and speaks of "the abomination that maketh desolate." Also on the side of Paul and primitive Christian eschatology (as reflected for example in the *Teaching*) there has been an adjustment to the new situation under Claudius by formation of an Antichrist doctrine instead of a material Shiqqutz. Whether adjustment to the course of events is traceable also on the side of Mark we shall enquire presently.

Three things make it practically certain that the Markan form of the apocalypse has been affected by the Pauline. (1) The motive. The object for which it is introduced is not (as usual with apocalyptic writers) to kindle eschatological enthusiasm, but to repress it. The great fear of Mark is that the Church may be swept off its feet by the cry "Lo, here is the Christ." This fanatical apocalypticism

he expects (or knows) as an immediate sequel to the disasters of 66-70. He identifies it with the "working of error" to be expected according to II Thess. 2:9-12, and repeatedly begs his readers not to be carried away by it, using the same quite unusual expression employed in II Thess. 1:2, "to be roused to alarm" (θροεῖσθαι).

(2) The "personification or personalizing" of the agency of the profanation. While for the sake of Scripture fulfilment Mark reverts to the Danielic phrase "abomination that maketh desolate" he does not relinquish the Pauline adaptation, but retains the Antichrist doctrine as the real sense of the Scripture. The Shiqqutz, according to Mark, will not be a material object but a "manifestation of the Man of Sin" or "of Lawlessness." To make sure that the sense given to the Scripture shall be this (to his mind) correct interpretation, he interjects the clause "Let him that readeth [the Scripture] understand" (*cf.* Dan. 9:23). He also takes pains to use the masculine form of the participle, a change from the Danielic terms whose significance is well expressed by Swete (*Comm. ad loc.*):

> *A constructio ad sensum;* the βδέλυγμα is personified, or regarded as personal: 'when ye see . . . him standing where he ought not'; cf. II Thess. 2:6 f. τὸ κατέχον . . . ὁ κατέχων. Matthew prefers ἑστός, and interprets ὅπου οὐ δεῖ as ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ—a phrase which has confirmed the impression, based on I Macc. 1:54, that the sign must be sought within the sacred precinct. But his (Matthew's) anarthrous τόπος ἅγιος is perhaps not equivalent to ὁ ἅ. τόπος (II Macc. 8:17; Acts 6:13) or ὁ τόπος (Jno. 11:48), or ὁ τ. οὗτος (Acts 21:28). All Palestine, but especially Jerusalem (ἡ ἁγία γῆ, ἡ ἁγία πόλις, II Macc. 1:7; 3:1) was to a Jew holy ground, where the Gentile had no right to be.

Swete is doubtless correct in defining what Mark wishes to be taken as the sense of the prophecy. By a strained interpretation he would have the sense taken to be "The Man of the desolating profanation will take his stand somewhere in Palestine or Jerusalem." It is certain, however, that if "he that readeth" Daniel did "understand" the prophet in this sense he would be perverting the real meaning. What that meaning was Matthew sees clearly, as indeed was inevitable for a "scribe well instructed." Mark's strained interpretation is due to his inability to devise one more literal (Matthew, as we have seen, obtains one by using "the anarthrous τόπος ἅγιος"). But we have found this difficulty already encountered by Paul, and rectified to the Thessalonians by exactly this method. Paul also "personifies, or regards the βδέλυγμα as personal."

(3) The curious feature of the Shortening of the Days. With Paul as with other adherents of the Danielic expectation the calcula-

tion of the time was important. The "Restrainer" who temporarily holds back the Man of Sin does so "in order that he may be manifested in his own time" (II Thess. 2:6). In Rom. 9:28 Paul quotes Is. 28:22 LXX. Only mistranslation of the Hebrew enabled the LXX to obtain the sense "For the Lord in his goodness will make a reckoning, accomplishing and abridging it, an abridged reckoning will the Lord make in the whole earth" (*λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον ποιήσει κύριος ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλῃ*). Some traces of this doctrine appear in later Jewish and Christian apocalypse, but the simplest explanation of its appearance in Mk. 13:20 is influence from Paul.[4]

In addition to this evidence of influence from Paul the Markan form of the Little Apocalypse gives evidence of adaptation to the events of the years 66-70. As we have just seen, the evangelist imposes a strained interpretation on the Danielic prophecy of the Shiqqutz. He had indeed the example of Paul for thus 'personalizing.' But he did not have in Paul any precedent for the attempt to help the reader to understand Scripture in a way which would square Daniel with the event. The effort of Mk. 13:14 is to obtain a justifying exegesis of Dan. 11:31 under circumstances wherein a literal fulfilment was no longer possible. Paul in 50 A.D. has no difficulty in retaining the literal sense of a manifestation "in the temple of God." For some reason Mark finds it necessary to substitute for this perfectly definite location the vague and ambiguous clause "where he ought not." Matthew naturally finds this very unsatisfactory and substitutes "in *a* holy place." But Mark's helplessness is apparent. In the words of McNeile "the reference is vague and cryptic." The destruction of the temple in 70 will explain both Mark's correction, and Matthew's correction of the correction. Mark is forced to be "vague and cryptic." After the disappearance of "the temple of God" he that read Daniel would need to "understand" in some peculiar way. Matthew removes the difficulty by substituting "*a* holy place" "for *the* holy place."

Another indication of date considerably later than 70 is Mark's attempt to make the fanatical apocalypticism of the period immediately succeeding the catastrophe a fulfilment of the predicted "leading astray" (II Thess. 2:9 f.). There are indeed few movements in the Church which have not been identified by their opponents at one time or another with "the Antichrist." In this particular instance we may well believe there was provocation in extravagant apocalyptic expectations cherished by Christians of

[4] See the article "Notes on Mark" in *Journal of Biblical Literature*. XLII (1923), pp. 137-149.

Jewish birth. The contents of our own Revelation of John show the type of "prophecy" prevalent in the Church not far from these times. Our evangelist insists that no mere earthly events shall be taken for signs of the Coming. Only when the "powers in the heavens" are shaken will it be time to look for the real intervention of God. This is good Pauline doctrine (Rom. 8:38 f.; Eph. 6:12), but the time when it was most required was during what Schürer calls "the after-vibrations of the great revolution."

Most important of all as an indication of date subsequent to the events of 66-70 is the interweaving of prophecies of Jesus concerning the fate of Jerusalem and the temple with apocalyptic forecasts of the Second Coming. The Little Apocalypse underlying the Thessalonian Epistles, built as it is on Daniel's visions of a profanation of the temple, is religious rather than political. It is not concerned with the fate of Jerusalem. It even takes for granted that "the temple of God" will be the scene of the manifestation of the Man of Sin and his bringing to nought by the counter-manifestation of Jesus as heavenly Lord. Neither Paul nor his "prophet" predecessor shows any trace of expectation of the siege and overthrow of Jerusalem. *Per contra* the Special Source of Luke apparently employed by Mark has the clearest predictions by Jesus of the siege and overthrow of Jerusalem, but no suggestion whatever of a connection between these political disasters and the end of the world. The Special Source has its own warnings against attempts to calculate the time of the Coming and treating the inward kingdom of God as if it were something to "come by observation" (Lk. 17:20 f.). It depicts the time of the End in colors borrowed from the story of Noah's Flood and the Destruction of Sodom (Lk. 17:22-37). All this is for the very purpose of *dis*sociating events belonging to the spiritual sphere from such as belong to the realm of political and military history. As to when the End is to come Jesus urges only to watchfulness because it is impossible to foresee it. As to where, he gives only the proverb, "Vultures gather wherever the carrion lies" (Lk. 17:37). Neither in this author's predictions of the overthrow of the city, so repeatedly placed in Jesus' mouth (Lk. 12:54-59; 13:1-9; 19:41-44; 23:27-31), nor in his warnings of the Coming of the Son of Man (Lk. 12:35-53; 13:23-30; 17:20-37; 18:1-8) is there the faintest trace of Danielic apocalypse, the temple-desecration, or the Antichrist doctrine. Except for the attenuated remnant derived from Mark in Luke's recast of the Doom-chapter (Lk. 21=Mk. 13) the Book of Daniel might as well not have been written so far as Luke is concerned.

What, then, is the explanation of the combination by Mark in

his Doom-chapter of predictions of the Great Tribulation on "those that are in Judea" derived from the descriptions of the overthrow of Jerusalem in the Special Source, with predictions of the End of the world partly derived from the same source but cemented to the overthrow passages by means of the Shiqqutz prophecy of Daniel? Can there be any other explanation than that Mark finds it needful to explain in just what relation these disasters to Judea and Jerusalem really stand to the final catastrophe? In point of fact we find his whole composite discourse made up as a private explanation of the saying on the Overthrow of the Temple. This explanation aims to show that while the political disaster is not to be regarded as the *immediate* precursor of the End, it does belong among the signs of its coming. Why, indeed, should the prophecy of Daniel be brought in at all, if not because he that "understands" may find in it a confirmation of his Christian hopes, and an assurance that "after that tribulation" the real *dénouement* will truly come?

Our study of this Markan agglutinated discourse reveals certain factors which throw light upon the date. Superficial reasoning finds it easy to compare Mark with Luke and infer a date antecedent to the catastrophe from the (relative) absence of indication that Jerusalem had already fallen. More careful scrutiny compels just the reverse. Wellhausen's assertion that Mark looks back upon the overthrow as something already past (*bereits vergangen*) is correct, though peremptory. Mark presupposes the Little Apocalypse known to Paul. He also shows acquaintance with Paul's own adaptation of the "prophecy" by a "personalized" Man of Sin instead of the material Shiqqutz, and he shows the perplexity of an interpreter obliged to fit the prediction of Daniel long attached to "the temple of God" to a situation where this building no longer exists. All these are inferences which source-analysis of the Doom-chapter makes it very difficult to avoid, and in addition we are carried still further down in date by the relation which appears to exist between Mark and the Special Source of Luke. For this source the Little Apocalypse does not exist. It completely ignores the profanation prophecy of Daniel. On the other hand it is so clear and specific in the predictions of the overthrow of Jerusalem and the temple, describing even details of the siege, that one can hardly avoid the impression that experience of the events themselves has at least stimulated the writer's memory and led to a selection and coloration of the material with a view to the vindication of Jesus' cause. Had all this been part of the common inheritance of Jesus' teaching one is forced to ask how it could have failed to find some expression in combination with, or alongside of, the eschatology

set forth in the Little Apocalypse. It is very difficult to imagine the Special Source of Luke taking the form it displays until after the great catastrophe; for this Special Source of Luke is the one writing of Christian antiquity in which there can really be found that reflection of the events of 66-70 in Palestine which elsewhere seems so singularly wanting. The Special Source of Luke appears to be later (though only slightly later) than 70 A.D. But it is almost impossible to reverse the literary relation between this source and Mark. Mark has employed it. Mark, therefore, must be later still.

Such are the conclusions to which we are led by comparison of the Doom-chapter of Mark with all its parallels. Others will doubtless judge the evidence differently. It remains to be seen whether the conclusion thus far attained will find confirmation or the reverse in other fields.

PART III

EVIDENCE FROM ARRANGEMENT OF MATERIAL

CHAPTER XII

THE DISCOURSES

In several particulars we have found it necessary to anticipate to some extent results which require further elucidation before full confidence can be expected. Source-analysis of the Doom-chapter involved an enquiry into the habitual methods of Mark in other agglutinated discourses, and into his relation to the Q material. A study of his eschatology involved unavoidably a comparison with the Pauline. Both these are larger questions which cannot be settled by reference to a single chapter of the Gospel.

So far as they go the results attained in our study of the Eschatological Discourse may be sufficient to frame a working hypothesis, and as such have been set down in definite form. The apocalyptic viewpoint of Mark appears to have been determined partly by a "prophecy" of the year 40 accepted widely as a "word of the Lord," partly by utterances of Jesus drawn from the Special Source of Luke. The former factor is affected by the Antichrist doctrine, by which the original Little Apocalypse of 40 A.D. has already been modified in Thessalonians to meet the changed conditions under Claudius and Nero (50-68). The Special Source of Luke is later than 70. Pauline influences would imply a date later than the Epistles. Our Gospel seems to involve both. Mark has further evidences of a date later than 70 in the combination effected between two factors: (a) Special Source logia, (b) Antichrist apocalypse. Use of these sources is in itself a proof of later date, and in addition the attempt to claim the events of 66-70 as partial fulfilments shows an author who looks back upon these. Mark gives evidence of this later date in his strained interpretation of Daniel, particularly as regards the place where the manifestation of the Man of Sin is to occur ("where he ought not").

So far as these results carry us (and they are based upon that portion of the Gospel which has always and justly been regarded as giving the clearest evidences) they call for a date not earlier than *ca.* 80 A.D. Provisionally accepting this we must now give further attention to the two larger questions of (a) Composition, (b) Pauline influence, which in the nature of the case cannot be settled by reference to one chapter only of the Gospel.

In an earlier work entitled *Beginnings of Gospel Story* (Yale University Press, 1909) the writer attempted to do for the interpretation of the Gospel of Mark as a whole what must here be attempted with more special application to the particular question of date. In the volume referred to the reader will find in the aggregate a large body of evidence showing the falsity of the prevailing idea (probably based on later forms of the Papias tradition) that this Gospel has none of the usual history of development by gradual accretion. Of course the process of stratification has been carried further in the dependent Gospels of Matthew and Luke; but it is far from the truth to imagine that Mark has no traces of accretion. This Gospel is anything but the product of off-hand composition, a literary work '*aus einem Guss.*' Nor can it be the product of oral dictation. More distinctly even than in the later, more polished, Gospels can the critic here observe the marks of piecing together of older written material.

Most of this material, if not all, can be proved to have been translated from the Aramaic. The general outline and structure, while abundantly justifying the Elder's criticism of lack of "order," in the sense that it furnishes neither a chronological τάξις such as Luke attempts, nor a logical and practical τάξις such as Matthew's, are carefully planned, and will richly reward a painstaking analysis. Papias will be found correct in regarding homiletical edification as a main factor. But the evangelist's own purpose, distinct from that of the mere preacher, has also entered in. For example, it is not conceivable that the evangelist was ignorant of those important elements of the teaching of Jesus which he frequently refers to (4:2, 33; 6:6, 34; 8:31; 10:1, etc.), but does not give *in extenso*. It is equally inconceivable (at least for scholars conscious of the conditions of the time) that our evangelist was tacitly referring his readers to other Gospels. Undoubtedly written sources were available. Luke refers to "many" such, and we have reason to believe that at least one of these διηγήσεις employed by Luke has served Mark also in certain matters of detail at least. But the requirements of the primitive Church would not have been met by a partial gospel. The exclusions of Mark are deliberate. He has exercised a selective choice in his material, preferring that which appeals to the eye as compared with what was addressed to the ear. But his reason for this cannot have been merely literary. His purpose was nothing less than a declaration to the reader of the Way of Eternal Life as understood by Christians. If, then, we find greater emphasis on "things done" rather than "things spoken" in this Gospel we are entitled to conclude that the evangelist con-

ceived "the gospel" in these terms. Now Mark has only one parallel in the primitive age for such a conception, a parallel which goes far beyond it. Paul's example in treating "the gospel" as concerned primarily with the work of God in Christ is carried to an extent which no later evangelist would dare to emulate; hence the extent to which Mark has carried this relative neglect of the teaching of Jesus may be reckoned in a broad sense among the evidences of "influence from Paul." The paucity of teaching material, reckoned as a defect by later evangelists, is really an evidence for the early date of Mark.

But we are not now concerned with influences from Paul, which must in due season receive separate consideration. We are concerned with the structure and composition of the Gospel, including the selection and use of sources, and the traces of superimposition of successive strata, or readjustment of the story. For in refuting the claim that the Eschatological Discourse of Mk. 13 represents in substantially its present form the writing of Mark himself in the year 40 we have already advanced the opinion that the Markan Doom-chapter is an agglutination composed of several factors, all of which have undergone one or more processes of adaptation and readjustment. The evidences adduced for the particular case of the Doom-chapter should not be left to stand alone. We should examine first of all the other Discourses of similar composition throughout the Gospel. In a subsequent chapter the narrative portions may be likewise examined for clews to the sources and principles of arrangement and adaptation.

1. Next to the Eschatological Discourse, whether as regards compass or apparent importance to the evangelist, is the group of parables by means of which he depicts Jesus in 4:1-34 as conveying to the inner group of his disciples "the mystery of the kingdom of God," while to "those that are without" all things are hidden under a veil of enigma. Outside of this significant section the reader obtains no account whatever of what the disciples were actually sent to teach. Their healing activity (the precedent for similar activities practiced in the evangelist's own time) is explained and justified by the series of Mighty works of Faith (4:35-6:6) which follows immediately after the Parables of the Kingdom, and is itself immediately followed by the Sending of the Twelve to Preach and to Heal (6:7-13). We cannot be mistaking the purpose of this arrangement and selection of material when we take the Chapter of Parables to be the evangelist's account of how the Twelve, chosen in 3:13-19, set apart, together with a subordinate

group of obedient hearers, in 3:20-35,[1] are now made "trustees of the message" (*cf.* Tit. 1:2 f.; I Tim. 1:11, etc.).

Reasons have been given elsewhere[2] for the belief that in the order of the source employed the parables stood in the following sequence: (1) Mustard Seed; (2) Leaven (omitted by Mark); (3) Patient Husbandman; (4) Sower. The Interpretation (4:10-20) also followed in the source, except for verses 11 f. which are interjected by Mark in the interest of his own conception of Jesus' reason for adopting an enigmatic (!) method of teaching. The transposition of parables (1) and (3) to the close was intended to bring into greater prominence the contrast between worthy and unworthy hearers set forth in parable (4), but had among other infelicitous results the effect of making the retirement with the inner circle for private instruction regarding "all the parables" (ver. 13) take place in the middle of the discourse, so that Jesus appears to withdraw with the Twelve into privacy while the multitude patiently wait on the shore, or else disperse and reassemble (!).

It is commonly admitted among critics that the parables, or at least that of the Mustard Seed, have been derived by Mark from Q. At all events the implication of verse 33 is plain that he has knowledge of others similar. But this is by no means the only use Mark has made in this connection of Q material. Except for Wellhausen, who strangely argues for priority on the side of Mark (!), critics also ascribe the parenthetic reference to the Blasphemy of the Scribes (3:22-30) by quite general consent to the same source. In addition a series of brief logia loosely thrown together, which appear in various connections of Q, are appended at the close of the Interpretation (4:21-25), in other words at what would be, but for the transposition effected by Mark, the end of the whole agglutination. Last and most significant of all, the verse which explains the entire arrangement of this section of the Gospel, together with the singular idea that the teaching in parables was a "hiding of the mystery of the Kingdom" from outsiders, is no mere free composition of Mark's own, as sometimes imagined, but a logion well attested in independent reports which Mark adapts to his purpose. It is this adaptation, and the source whence the logion appears to be

[1] It belongs to the method of composition and use of sources which we are studying to observe that Mk. 3:22-30 is interjected in a parenthetic manner into the context. The phenomenon is constant in Mark, and distinctly suggests literary rather than oral supplementation, particularly as the material thus interjected appears in fuller and more authentic form in Q (Mt. 12:24-32=Lk. 11:14-23; 12:10). For details see *Beginnings of Gospel Story, ad loc.*

[2] See the *Commentary, ad loc.*, and "Parable and its Adaptation in the Gospels" in *Hibbert Journal*, XXI., 1 (Oct., 1922), pp. 127-140.

derived, which will be found especially instructive in our present enquiry.

All four members of the original group of Kingdom parables, Mustard Seed, Leaven, Patient Husbandman, and Sower, have a common object. They encourage faith in the nearness of the Kingdom in spite of appearances, by appeal to instances in nature of God's unseen mode of working. Though insignificant as the mustard seed, unperceived as the working of leaven, unhastening as the ripening of harvests, super-abounding as the rich return of crops outweighing incidental loss, the dynamic of God is in the world making the little great, permeating the mass, justifying faith, crowning labor and hope. This is Jesus' "gospel of the kingdom" as it appears in other Q material such as the Answer to John (Mt. 11:2-6=Lk. 7:18-23). The conception differs fundamentally from the apocalyptic. It does not deny a catastrophic *dénouement,* but lays emphasis on a present hidden "sovereignty of God" whose "manifestation" belongs to the unknown future (*cf.* Lk. 17:20 f.). In the new arrangement of Mark, with the narrative introduction (3:20-35) and the interjected application (4:11 f.), the primary interest becomes eschatological.

Again it was certainly not the purpose of Jesus in using the parabolic method to obscure, but to illuminate. Neither was there in the original grouping any suggestion of anti-Jewish polemic such as tinges the whole group when thus introduced, transposed in order, and supplemented. The saying on Spiritual Kindred (3:31-35) now takes on a polemic tone. Jesus' earthly kin are "outsiders" from whom "the mystery of the kingdom" must be hid. The adaptation is secondary, Markan, anti-Jewish. What is more to our purpose, it is superimposed, and that not upon the original form, but upon a form already secondary and adapted.

For the interpretation attached to the group as a whole in verses 10, 13-20 is complete without verses 11 f. The general connection is far better than if the enquirers *receive two inconsistent* replies to their question through the inserted verses. But even this more original form of the Interpretation in verses 10, 13-20 is not primary. It does not give the meaning really intended by the parable of the Sower, but an allegorizing application intended to rebuke various classes of heedless hearers,[3] a true pulpit castigation, which while wholly innocent of the anti-Jewish bent of Mark betrays its relatively late date by referring not only to "riches" as an impediment to fruitful hearing (*cf.* Jas. 2:1-7), but even to

[3] *Cf.* Philo on audiences in the Μουσαῖον, *de congressu eruditionis gratia,* 13, Mangey.

"persecutions," which were quite beyond the horizon at the time of Jesus' utterance.

Thus the inserted two verses declaring that the reason for the use of parables was an intention to "hide the mystery of the kingdom," so that the bitter prophecy of Isaiah against the people deaf and blind and hardened against his message might be fulfilled (11, 12), belong not to a *second* stratum of the tradition but to a *third*. And if we ask whence Mark derives this curious logion on the hiding of the mystery of the kingdom from all but the true household of faith, it will be discovered to be no recent product, but even pre-christian in its earliest forms. For Theodotion's rendering of Is. 24:16 was "My mystery is for me and for those who are mine" (Τὸ μυστήριόν μου ἐμοῖ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς), which Jewish legend reproduces in *Sanhedrin,* 94:1 in the form: "A *bath qol* resounded saying, 'My secret is mine, my secret is mine.' The prophet answered; 'How long?' " etc., as in Is. 24:17. In Jewish application the warning not to betray the divine revelation to the unworthy has reference to the Torah (*cf.* Mt. 7:6). In the Wisdom literature it refers to divine instruction given to her "children," a form in which it underlies both the Q logion Mt. 11:25-27=Lk. 10:21 f. and the outburst of Paul in I Cor. 1:18-3:1. In *Odes of Solomon* VIII. 11 it returns as "Keep my mystery that ye may be kept by it." Finally it dies away in later Christian apocrypha, as in "a certain gospel" cited by Clement (*Strom.* V, x. 69): "My mystery is for me and for the sons of my household," and the *Clementina,* where Peter recalls (*Hom.* XIX. 20): "Our Lord enjoined upon us: 'Keep my mysteries for me and for the sons of my household.' For this reason he explained privately to his own disciples the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven."

A logion of such long-continued and wide circulation need not necessarily have been derived by Mark from Q; but since the entire context, beginning with the introductory incident of the Mother and Brethren (3:20-35), is filled with Q extracts it would clearly be contrary to all critical principles to conjecture a separate source for this logion on the Hiding of the Mystery; for it appears in more authentic and original form in Mt. 11:25-30=Lk. 10:21 f. In the Lukan context it even appears associated (as here) with an intimation to the Twelve that it is to them that the revelation is confided (Lk. 10:23 f.). The logion assumes indeed a wide difference in form and mode of application in its Markan setting. But this is characteristic. As we have already observed in the Doom-chapter, and shall have further occasion to observe, Mark's habitual method of employment has exactly this character. His interest is

concrete and practical. Poetry is turned to prose. He borrows so much as serves his immediate apologetic or pragmatic purpose, often passing over the essence of the teaching.[4]

We cannot leave this keystone of the Discourse in Parables without a word concerning the associated quotation from Is. 6:9 which serves as a pointer to indicate how the doctrine of the Hiding of the Mystery should (in Mark's view) be applied. For this employment by Mark has become a classic proof-text for every later evangelist to further improve and elaborate (*cf.* Mt. 13:13;[5] Lk. 8:10; Acts 28:26 f.; Jn. 12:39 f.). As before, some anticipation of our enquiry into Pauline influence will be involved, but this is unavoidable if we would appreciate Mark's standpoint and mode of composition.

It is in his great theodicy of Rom. 9-11 explaining Israel's rejection of the Gospel as providential, that Paul introduces as the cardinal feature of his apologetic the doctrine of the "hardening" of Israel, showing at length by citations from the prophets, especially Isaiah, that this strange providence was in accordance with the determinate foreknowledge and counsel of God, for (Rom. 11:7 f.):

> That which Israel seeketh for, that he obtained not; but the election obtained it, and the rest were hardened: according as it is written, "God gave them a spirit of stupor, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, unto this very day."

It is true that Paul combines in this quotation elements from *two* Isaian complaints against the unbelief of Israel (Is. 29:10 and 6:9), which our evangelist applies separately (Mk. 4:12 and 7:6 f.). But the doctrine of the "hardening" (πωρώσις) of Israel, extending even to Jesus' own disciples, is a dominant theme of Mark, persisting throughout the Gospel. What appears in Mk. 4:11 f. is simply a combination of this distinctively Pauline doctrine with another doctrine no less characteristically Pauline, the Hiding of the Mystery (I Cor. 2:7; Rom. 16:25 f.; Eph. 3:3-5). To Mark's view this divine dispensation is particularly manifest in the conveying of "the mystery of the kingdom of God" to the inner circle in Galilee (who represent the unborn Church) by means of the

[4] For similar instances see below on Mk. 9:37b=Lk. 10:16 and Mk. 9:50=Mt. 5:13=Lk. 14:34 f.

[5] The repetition of the quotation in fuller form in the next two verses (Mt. 13:14, 15) is an early interpolation borrowed from Acts 28:26. It is not an authentic element of the text of Matthew, but serves to show the polemic interest concentrated on this proof-text.

parables, while it remains "hid" from "those who are without." His combination of the two doctrines is effected, precisely as in the case of the Eschatological Discourse, on the basis of Q logia adjusted to the Pauline viewpoint as Mark understands it.

Whether the whole group of Q logia attached in loose agglutination in verses 21-24 come from the same editorial hand as the insertion of the Blasphemy of the Scribes (3:22-30) and the anti-Jewish 'keystone' (4:11 f.), and belong all to the same period, or whether they represent successive supplements by various hands, need not here concern us. The essential factors of the Parable Discourse are now apparent. We have some insight into the question how, and why, and whence it was compiled. So far as source analysis is competent to express a judgment it can only confirm that pronounced upon the Eschatological Discourse: The compilation of Mk. 4:1-34 is at several removes from primitive tradition. It presupposes both Q and Paul.

2. An agglutinated discourse which from its extent and setting had manifest importance to Mark (though the connection often seems like a mere assonance of unrelated terms) is introduced in Mk. 9:33-50 by a version of the incident of the Child in the Midst (with verses 33-37, *cf.* 10:13-16, 41-45). In this case we meet such further evidence of late date as may be afforded by the literary phenomenon of duplication. For there is clear proof that the two Markan anecdotes of the Child in the Midst do not represent two separate occurrences. The fact that they are parallel versions of the same story appears from the rebuke of the Twelve in 9:37 for not "receiving" such little ones; whereas it is only in the *other* version that they have forbidden the children to be brought (10:13). Conversely it is in the second version (10:15) that Jesus commends the humility of the little child (without apparent occasion); whereas it is in the *first* (9:34) that the occasion had really been given. Other duplications such as that of the two versions of the Breaking of Bread (6:30-52=8:1-10) make the conclusion a reasonable one that Mark is here combining sources. As already noted the Gospel of Mark is certainly a product of literary compilation. But the inference has only a very general bearing on our present enquiry and may be left in abeyance.

Two factors are conspicuous in the discourse of Mk. 9:33-50: (1) A theme continuing that of the teaching at Caesarea Philippi, where Jesus reveals the doctrine of the Cross (8:31-38), a theme continued in the series of anecdotes in 10:17-45, all of which relate to Renunciation and Reward. The burden of the group is: Leave all for the kingdom's sake. "He that would save his life shall lose it,

but he that is ready to lose it for the kingdom's sake shall save it." This note of heroism and martyrdom pervades the major part of the material in Mk. 9:30-10:45, including the eloquent paragraph (poetic in form as well as substance, and saturated with Isaian phraseology) on Sacrificing All, 9:43-48. As is well known, most of this paragraph appears twice in Matthew (Mt. 5:29 f.=18:8 f.). (2) Intermingled in strange combination with this primary theme appears a second theme on Receiving *versus* Stumbling, a series of logia partly recurrent in Q (principally in the Lukan form) inculcating the duty of consideration for the weak. It is this second theme which is superimposed, and dominates the construction, in spite of its smaller bulk and looser relation to the story as a whole. For the introductory incident, as we have seen, is the Dispute as to Who should be Greatest (verses 33-35); and although this seems to be only a briefer version of 10:13-16, 35-45 it has doubtless been inserted at this point by the compiler of the Gospel for the sake of introducing the discourse in its present form. The theme of Receiving *versus* Stumbling is continued by the Rebuke of Intolerance (verses 38-40) interjected between the two parts of the Q logion on Reward for Kindness to Christ's Messengers (Mk. 9:37b, 41=Mt. 18:5 f.=Lk. 10:40), and a briefer adaptation of another Q logion on Stumbling the Weak (Lk. 17:1 f.=Mt. 18:6 f.). The series ends with two Q logia on Saving Salt, attached in strange fashion at the close of the agglutination in a manner to bring attention back to the point of departure, *viz.*, the Quarrel as to Who shall be Greatest (Mk. 9:49 f.; *cf.* Lk. 14:34 f.=Mt. 5:13).

As in the two preceding instances the key to this singular agglomeration will be found in the evangelist's effort to apply Pauline doctrine in the form of adapted Q logia. The fundamental material, as we have seen, consists of teaching continuous with the revelation of the Way of the Cross in chapter 8 and the anecdotes on Renunciation and Reward in chapter 10. With this we are not now concerned. It is the superimposed material which interests us. As in the Parable Discourse it appears not to be all of one stratum. The Rebuke of Intolerance (verses 38-40) has at least the appearance of later attachment, since its omission by Matthew, so far from breaking the context, seems rather to improve it. But however this remarkable bit of narrative be accounted for, the remainder of the secondary material hangs together by virtue of its inculcation of Paul's exhortation to rulers in the Church, particularly the church in Rome, not to "stumble" the weak, but rather to "receive" them (Rom. 14:1-15:7). In order to attach this lesson Mark makes use of a group of loosely coördinated Q logia. The first identifiable scrap

is 9:37b=Mt. 10:40=Lk. 10:16. The most outstanding is the logion of Lk. 17:1 f.=Mt. 18:6 f. That the Lukan form is the more original and authentic is self-evident. Its attachment here before the poetic paragraph "If thy hand or foot cause thee to stumble," etc., is manifestly a mere verbal connection. Next to this in importance is the closing logion on Saving Salt (verse 50) borrowed from Q in the manner to which we are now habituated in Mark (Lk. 14:34 f.=Mt. 5:13). Once more our findings as to the sources and mode of composition of Mark in the case of the Eschatological Discourse, and the Discourse in Parables, are confirmed. The discourse on Receiving *versus* Stumbling also presupposes Q, more especially in the Lukan form. It further presupposes the Pauline teaching, more especially that of Romans.

3. Next in extent and importance of the discourses of Mark is that on Inward Purity, attached in 7:1-23 to a brief account of how Jesus and his disciples had been taken to task for neglecting the ablutions before eating. In this case the evangelist comes more than usually into the foreground through the necessity he seems to feel for acquainting his readers with the peculiar customs of "the Pharisees and all the Jews" in the matter of ablutions, and in particular the peculiar use of the word "common" (κοῖνος) in the technical sense "polluted." Because this term occurs in the source Mark is following he makes a characteristic pause in the midst of his story to explain it; then, after a further explanatory digression, he returns and repeats his original statement (7:1-4). The result is that we find ourselves at the original outset of the story in verse 5:

> And the Pharisees and scribes asked him: Why do not thy disciples walk according to the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with polluted hands?

The answer consists in substance of the Q saying on Inward *versus* Outward Pollution (Mt. 24:25 f.=Lk. 11:39-41). This is reproduced by Mark with his usual freedom in verse 15, and is immediately made the point of departure for a prolonged explanation to the Twelve "when he had entered the house away from the multitude" (to whom nevertheless according to verse 14 he had specifically addressed the saying). As a preliminary to this answer, however, Jesus denounces his interlocutors as "hypocrites," applying to them and their "vain worship" the words of Is. 29:13 quoted more briefly by Paul in Col. 2:22:

> This people honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching as their teachings commandments of men.

To this general indictment is subjoined the specific charge that in

their rulings concerning the inviolability of the *korban* the scribes set the spirit of the commandment at nought.

All this interjected polemic against scribal religion merely separates question from answer. Like the introductory explanation in verses 1-4 it is in the nature of an aside to the reader. Like the long interpretation to the Twelve "when he had entered into the house away from the multitude" it represents the evangelist's own elaboration of the principle of the logion as he understands it. Hence we are justified in regarding the complete discourse as built around the question and answer: "Why do thy disciples eat with defiled hands? . . . There is nothing from outside that entering into a man can defile him. But the things which come forth out of a man, these defile the man."

The importance of the logion to Mark is apparent from his extensive elaboration of it. The particular application he would give it appears from the setting. It forms the prelude to Jesus' departure "into the borders of Tyre and Sidon," where he extends to the believing "Gentile woman" the divine help at first reserved for "the children" only (7:24-30). It is thus for Mark an equivalent for the story in Acts 10:1-11:18 of how Peter through the vision on the house-top was taught that the Mosaic distinctions of "clean" and "unclean" are not of God but of men (Acts 10:15), and how thereafter Peter carried the gospel to the Gentile household of Cornelius.

It is hardly proper to characterize as "Pauline" the doctrine here set forth. In reality it goes even beyond Paul in the persuasion "that there is nothing unclean of itself," since it omits the saving clause that "to him that accounteth anything to be unclean to him it is unclean" (Rom. 14:14). Mark is a Paulinist of the type of those in Corinth, who needed to be reminded that Paul imposed voluntary restrictions on his own perfect liberty, for the sake of the overscrupulous. Paul became an "imitator of Christ," who had "become a minister of the circumcision for the sake of the promises made to the fathers," who was "born under the law that he might redeem them that were under the law," who bore "the reproach of Israel" and the curse of the law, to redeem us from its curse. Mark knows the freedom of Paul; but he does scant justice to its limitations. He has nothing to say about the avoidance of "stumbling," save the Rebuke of Intolerance which we have already considered in the discourse on Receiving *versus* Stumbling. Moreover in his doctrine of the Spirit he seems wholly unaffected by the Pauline mysticism. His mind is prosaic and western.

How, then, has Mark composed the discourse in which he em-

bodies his idea of the abolition of the "distinctions of meats?" After the same method as in the agglutinations already considered. As a nucleus he gives us the Q logion on Inward *versus* Outward Purity (Mk. 7:15=Mt. 24:25 f.=Lk. 11:39-41). The occasion and scene are as in Lk. 11:37-41 the house of a Pharisee in Galilee, after the Feeding of the Multitude, not as in Mt. 23:25 f., where the logion forms part of the great Eschatological Discourse in Jerusalem at the Passover. By way of development Mark resorts to the passage of Isaiah quoted by Paul in a similar expostulation with those who "subject themselves to ordinances, 'Handle not, nor taste, nor touch' (all which things are to perish with the using), after 'the precepts and doctrines of men.'" Next he justifies the charge of "hypocrisy" (*cf.* Lk. 12:1) by the instance of the *korban* supplied from current polemic. Finally he appends his "private interpretation" (verses 17-23). As before, the composition of the Discourse on Inward Purity (Mk. 7:1-23) presupposes Q. It also presupposes the universalism of Paul. As we shall see in the special consideration of this phase of the problem it possibly presupposes the particular passage Col. 2:22 itself.

4. Our fourth example of Markan discourses differs somewhat in mode of composition from the preceding, but its factors are the same: Q material as the basis, Old Testament Scripture in admixture, Pauline doctrine as the motive. The "parable" of the Usurping Husbandmen (Mk. 12:1-12=Mt. 21:23-46=Lk. 20:9-19), attached by Mark after the Reply to the Demand of the Sanhedrin for Jesus' Authority, is offered by the evangelist as representative of a group of "parables." In reality it is not strictly a parable, but allegory, and for reasons set forth in the *Commentary, ad loc.*, cannot be regarded as more than an adaptation of some authentic utterance of Jesus. As an appendix to the story of Jesus' challenge to the rulers by cleansing the temple, and his reply to their demand for his authority by appeal to the prophetic calling of John, it serves to turn the retreat of Jesus' opponents into rout, and leaves him not only master of the field, but boldly proclaiming himself the Son of God, and predicting the fate he is to suffer at their hands until God fulfils in him the prediction of the Passover Psalm already cited at the beginning of the section (11:9 f.=Ps. 118:25 f.; 12:10 f.=Ps. 118:22 f.):

> The stone which the builders rejected,
> The same was made the head of the corner;
> This (stone) was from the Lord,
> And it is marvellous in our eyes.

The quotation closely follows the LXX and may be connected with I Pt. 2:7 (but *cf.* Acts 4:11). Matthew and Luke transcribe the section without material change, Matthew softening the prediction of the transfer of the vineyard to "others" into "a nation bringing forth its fruits" (that is, a repentant Israel), and Luke attaching a further Isaian Prophecy (Is. 8:14 f.). Mark proceeds in this case somewhat beyond mere agglutination; but the Q material he employs is not difficult to identify, nor will it be found impracticable to determine why it is introduced at precisely this point and in this particular form. It will be found, however, that in this case he approximates the Matthean rather than the Lukan form of Q. Usually the reverse is the case.

In brief the origin of the Markan "parable" of the Usurping Husbandmen may be stated as follows: It stands for the Q *pair* of parables, Mt. 20:1-16 and 21:28-32, whose equivalent material in Luke consists of Lk. 15:1 f., 11-32, and 7:29 f. Its leading theme, however, is taken by Mark from the section of Q in which "the Wisdom of God" is quoted in two strophes reproducing the plaint of Jeremiah (Jer. 35:15; *cf.* II Chron. 36:15 f.; Prov. 1:23-31). It may therefore be regarded as Mark's equivalent for Mt. 23:34 f. =Lk. 11:49-51 (*cf.* I Thess. 2:15):

> Behold, I send unto you prophets and wise men and scribes.
> Some of them shall ye kill and crucify,
> And some shall ye scourge in your synagogues
> And persecute from city to city.
>
> That on you may come all the righteous blood shed on the earth,
> From the blood of Abel the righteous
> To the blood of Zechariah ben-Barachiah
> Whom ye slew between the sanctuary and the altar.

Still the "parable" of Mk. 12:1-12 would hardly have been constructed as it is without two contributory factors: (1) The conventional type of Jehovah's vineyard in Scripture (*cf.* Is. 5:1-7); (2) the pair of Q parables above referred to, whose present representation in Matthew and Luke calls for some further explanation.

It would carry us too far into questions concerning the transmission of the Q material to enquire why the parable of the Eleventh-Hour Laborers (Mt. 20:1-16) should fail to appear in Luke, to whose Special Source it is highly sympathetic; and why in addition that of the Grudging Elder Brother, known to the world as the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32), should be detached from one to which in point and bearing it is so closely related as

the Eleventh-Hour Laborers, and attached to the pair: Lost Sheep-Lost Coin (Lk. 15:3-7, 8-10). Pairing is characteristic of the parables of Jesus as transmitted, and in this case Luke seems (as in others noted by Streeter)[6] to have formed a trilogy. Instead of attempting to solve this problem we may adopt the simpler expedient of dropping the material taken from Mark in Mt. 20 f. This will leave the non-Markan material in juxtaposition. The result is: (1) Parable of the Eleventh-Hour Laborers (20:1-16); (2) Parable of the Two Sons sent to Work in the Vineyard (21:28-30); (3) Application: Conduct of Publicans and Sinners *versus* Pharisees at the Baptism of John (21:31 f.=Lk. 7:29 f.; *cf.* Lk. 15:1 f.). At this point comes in our Mark "parable" of the Usurping Husbandmen.

Whether we do or do not regard the parable of the Prodigal Son as a development along the lines of the Lost Sheep and Lost Coin or the simpler parable of the Two Sons sent to Work in the Vineyard, it is certain that this latter (Mt. 21:28-30) forms a real pair with its predecessor in the above juxtaposition. The displaced Q fragment Lk. 7:29 f.=Mt. 21:31 f. and the editorial equivalent Lk. 15:1 f. may, or may not, represent recasting in the Lukan form of the original Q material. In any case we can hardly fail to recognize from the phenomena of Mt. 21:28-32, followed immediately by the Markan "parable," that Matthew had a certain amount of Q material which he felt it desirable to add at precisely this point of the story, and that this Q material was in the form of two parables in which the Scriptural figure of the Vineyard of Jehovah came into play, with contrast of unworthy first-comers displaced by more favored sons. The pair of parables sets the self-righteous Pharisee over against the penitent and forgiven publicans and sinners. Mark's allegory contrasts the arrogant and murderous rulers of the Jewish theocracy with that Israel of God which is to receive the inheritance (Mk. 12:9). The basis is formed, as we saw, by the denunciation quoted from "the wisdom of God."[7] But the casting of this into the form of an allegorized parable of the putting to death of the Son of God in Mk. 12:1-12 can best be accounted for when we take into consideration the two parables of Workers in the Vineyard of Jehovah which seem by the testimony of Matthew to have followed in Q at precisely this point of the story, *viz.*, Jesus' appeal to "the Baptism of John." One need

[6] *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem.* Sanday *et al.*, 1911, p. 194.

[7] *Cf.* the citation of "all-virtuous Wisdom" by Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* lvii.). It is the equivalent passage Prov. 1:23-31 and is applied both by Clement and Hegesippus to the disaster of 70 A.D.

hardly point to I Thess. 2:15; Gal. 4:4 f. to prove the 'Pauline' standpoint of Mark; nor to his use of the Passover Psalm in 12:10 f. (previously in 11:9 f.) and of Is. 5:1 f. in 12:1, to prove that in this as in the preceding examples these three, Q material, Old Testament, and teaching akin to Paul's, are the factors for his composition.

5. The next section of Mark, the Questions of Pharisee, Sadducee, and Scribe (12:13-34), also has an appendix. At the close are attached: (1) a Question of the Christ (12:35-37); (2) a Denunciation of the Scribes (12:38-40); (3) the story of the Widow's Mites (12:41-44). Reasons have been given in the *Commentary* for regarding the first of the group as from the hand of the evangelist personally. The second will be recognized with little critical dissent as a briefer form of the Woes on the Scribes from Q (Mt. 23:1-7= Lk. 11:43, 46; *cf.* 21:1-4). The third (omitted by Matthew) is an anecdote closely related in feeling to the Special Source of Luke, apparently drawn in at this point by the phrase of the preceding verse which accuses the scribes of "devouring widows' houses" (estates). It is doubtful if the mere trace of the Denunciation of the Scribes in Mk. 12:38-40 should be regarded as one of the Markan Discourses. If it be included its witness merely confirms that of the preceding examples in respect to the use of Q material. Mark has at command material of this type. He does not choose to insert it all, but adapts brief extracts freely to his own purposes. He compiles and edits on the basis of an older outline, as do Matthew and Luke, but with greater freedom of adaptation. He uses Old Testament material in the Greek translation, and has a decidedly anti-Jewish and (on the broader issues) a Pauline point of view.

CHAPTER XIII

THE OUTLINE OF THE MINISTRY

THE preceding chapter has furnished in greater detail than was possible within the compass of the *Commentary* on what grounds the assertion was there made that "Our evangelist has used the ancient common source of Matthew and Luke (Q) to embellish and supplement an earlier and simpler narrative."[1] It is to be hoped that the present fuller development will also be found to bear out the further statement of the mode and nature of this Markan use of Q.

> The use thus made is by no means characterized by sympathetic and appreciative insight. On the contrary Mark in all such cases uniformly pragmatizes, materializes, exaggerates in the interest of his demonstration of the divine sonship of Jesus in the superhuman sense of 13:32, on the basis of wonders. . . . The process is not that of mechanical addition. In fact the Q elements are more frequently interjected as if from memory only. Brief supplements or editorial surveys are more frequent than consecutive extracts, of which there are few. Fragments are strung together sometimes upon mere catch-words, sometimes with more definite logical connection, but with slight regard for their original bearing. It is as though the type of Petrine narrative gospel had been already too firmly fixed to admit of radical recasting, and the new material had been added in adaptation only, and for the most part in the form of *memoriter* interpolations and supplements.

Our examination of the few discourses of Mark has proved (if proof were needed) that the narrative character of the work is chosen of set purpose. What appeared to the eye rather than what appealed to the ear was of chief concern to this evangelist. For this reason even when he departs from his usual practice by embodying certain portions of Q material, the amount is always greatly reduced and its character changed into narrative form. One example is the Cursing of the Fig Tree in place of the Parable of the Barren Fig Tree, another the Hiding of the Mystery of the Kingdom from Outsiders, a third, which we must examine presently, John the Baptist as Elijah redivivus.

We have now to carry over to the narrative material of Mark the same process of source-analysis already applied to the discourses. For it is not only generally recognized in the case of the Blasphemy

[1] *Beginnings*, p. xxi.

of the Scribes (already referred to as interjected in Mk. 3:22-30 from Q) that the Second Source contained a certain proportion of narrative, some of which might have been taken up by Mark, but it is also probable from what we have already seen of the pragmatizing tendency of Mark that he has turned poetry into prose, parable into fact, metaphor into concrete reality, and utilized the implications of discourse to bridge over gaps in his knowledge of the course of events. It will perhaps not unduly anticipate the course of our enquiry if we borrow as a preliminary statement a presentation of the facts given in the volume just quoted, continuing from the close of the preceding extract:

> Moreover, the Q material came into our evangelist's hands not as a mere *syntagma* of teachings of Jesus, but already equipped with at least the narrative introduction which relates John's Preaching and the Baptism and Temptation of Jesus. In all probability certain narratives which are wanting in Matthew, but which Luke presents in association with Q, are drawn by Mark from this Lukan source. The dependence in the cases referred to is certainly on the side of Mark, not merely from the nature of the material, which is intimately connected with the Special Source of Luke, and often bears on its face the marks of this distinctively humanitarian narrative, but still more because the connection in Mark is invariably forced and artificial, showing clearly its later attachment to the story.

At least the Special Source of Luke, in which most if not all of the Q material is found embedded, was a narrative. Like the Petrine narrative of Acts 1-12, and many romances of later Hellenistic literature both Christian and non-Christian, discourse preponderated. The appetite of the age for monologue and dialogue seems to have been insatiable. But the Second Source introduced its leading character by an account of the work of John his predecessor, and therefore must have had a conclusion to tell the fate of the character so circumstantially introduced. A very large element of the Q material revolves around the question raised by John as to the personality and work of this central character. The question grows out of the "mighty works" which this central character is reported to have performed, and is answered by an appeal to the miracles as having a certain significance for the question whether Jesus is, or is not, "he that should come." Another very considerable element of Q condemns the cities of Galilee for not accepting the message thus commended; still other extracts relate to the fate to fall upon Jerusalem for the same reason. Incidentally anecdotes such as the Healing of the Centurion's Servant are admitted to be drawn from this same Q source, so that if (as Harnack maintains) it was "not a gospel," it would be hard indeed to say wherein it

fell short of that narrative character which belongs to a gospel appeal to "the works of Christ." Moreover the criterion adopted for judging its narrative content involves a manifest fallacy. The definition of Q is "coincident material of Matthew and Luke not found in Mark." If, then, Mark has drawn any of his material from Q, by the very definition itself this portion of Q is cancelled out. The material of Mark being chiefly narrative the non-Markan remainder of the source would of course be mainly discourse. Thus the inference that the source reconstructed on the basis of this remainder was mainly discourse is plain self-deception. Nothing of the kind can be inferred. The reasoning moves in a circle.

Least of all can it be argued from the testimony of Papias that the Second Source consisted mainly of "things said." For Papias had no idea of the existence of a Second Source, but spoke simply of our own Gospel of Matthew as a "syntaxis" of the Lord's precepts, averring that these (like all gospel material) had been translated from the Aramaic. The effort to find a proto-Matthew consisting mainly of logia is waste of time. When based (as in the case of Harnack and a whole group of English critics) on misinterpretation of Papias, it is misleading.

It is on quite other grounds, mainly internal, that the Second Source may properly be recognized as predominating in discourse material. But this by no means implies that it was not a true gospel, mainly concerned (like all gospels) with the person, mission, and fate of Jesus as the Christ of God. Its Christology differs from the Markan in presenting Jesus as the supreme incarnation of the revealing and redemptive Wisdom of God. Because it conceives salvation much as it is conceived in James (an indwelling of the divine gift of 'wisdom,' a being "brought forth by the word of truth to be a kind of 'first-fruits' of the creation") the evangelist naturally places teaching in the foreground. Like 'James,' the author of the Q material is a Christian Wisdom writer. To him the message of Jesus is an "implanted word which is able to save men's souls." It is a "royal law," a "perfect law of liberty." Why should he not be anxious to tell this teaching of Jesus to the fullest possible extent? And yet, as we have seen, the work and person of Jesus were central to the whole composition.

This brief preliminary characterization of the Second Source may be pardoned if it involves some digression from our present quest, inasmuch as there is need first of all to realize what sort of material lies in the background of Mark's composition. We may pass now to individual instances of its employment, restricting ourselves in the present chapter to traces of the influence of Q on the narrative.

1. The Baptism of John. In the Special Source of Luke the birth of John is a matter to be related with almost equal circumstance to that of Jesus. A priest of the sons of Aaron and the course of Abia receives angelic annunciation of it, and its miraculous nature is attested by a sign from heaven. John is sent "in the spirit and power of Elias" to prepare Israel for the Day of Jehovah's Coming. The Q material which follows this material from the Special Source shows similar interest. John's Preaching of Repentance is given in substance. Later still his question evoked by the "works of the Christ" gives occasion, as we have seen, to a Denunciation of Unbelief, in which the contrast of these same works of healing, mercy, and glad tidings to the poor, with the austere warning of John, serves to set forth the true mission of Jesus as the redeeming Wisdom of God. But this is not all. Preliminary to this presentation of Jesus' own claims is one which he makes on the Baptist's behalf; and the essential teaching of Jesus' utterance regarding the Baptist is that "This is he of whom it was written (Mal. 3:1 Heb.): Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee." Greater than all the prophets, though less than the least of those in the kingdom whose coming he announces, John is no other than "Elias which should come" (Lk. 7:24-35=Mt. 11:7-19).

Over against this valuation of the Baptist in the Special Source of Luke as well as in Q stands the valuation of Mark, who reduces the forerunner almost to the level occupied by him in the fourth Gospel, where John is manifested only to fade away before the dawning of the true Light. True, the Baptist is still in Mark's account "Elias which was to come." But instead of a description of his work of turning Israel to repentance we are given only externalities. John is the Elias of Jewish legend who anoints the Christ, because (as Trypho informs us in the *Dialogue* with Justin, viii. and xlix.):

> The Christ, if he has indeed been born, and exists anywhere, is unknown, and does not even know himself, and has no power, until Elias come to anoint him and make him manifest to all.

The baptism which John preaches is nominally a "baptism of repentance unto forgiveness of sins" (Mk. 1:4). But it is a baptism not related to John's work, but to another's. John's own preaching of repentance is completely ignored. His baptism is a mere prefiguration of Christian baptism, to be completed at Pentecost (1:8). Instead of the account of John's reformatory movement Mark gives us his Announcement of the Greater One that Comes After.

Instead of the Elijan ministry ("turning the heart of Israel back again," I Kings 18:37; *cf.* Ecclus. 48:10) he tells of John's resemblance to Elijah in costume and diet (!).

But even these externalities of Mark are not original. Every detail is gleaned from the Q discourse. "In the wilderness" is the place where Jesus had described the multitudes as "going forth." John eschewed the food of civil life, neither "eating bread nor drinking wine." He was not "clothed in soft raiment" but wore the garb of the prophet-anchorite, which in the case of Elijah had been specifically described (II Kings 1:8) as "a garment of hair, with a leathern girdle about his loins." It is not conjecture which leads us to say that Mark borrows this description together with his quotation of Mal. 3:1 from Q. It is proof derived from the language. The mistaken reference of the quotation to "Isaiah" would alone show it to be borrowed. But in addition it is given in the exact language of Mt. 11:10=Lk. 7:27, although this differs from the LXX which Mark elsewhere employs. Moreover in describing John's diet Mark uses the very unusual form ἔσθων (verse 6). Only four instances of this spelling occur elsewhere in the New Testament. All four are in the Special Source of Luke. Two of them are in the verse which contrasts the mode of life of the Son of Man with the Baptist, "John came neither eating (ἔσθων) nor drinking; the Son of Man came eating (ἔσθων) and drinking" (Lk. 7:33 f.). It is evidence of this kind which justifies the statement of the *Commentary* (p. xx):

> Not the Pauline Epistles only affect Mark's whole line of apologetic, but his use of the source independently employed by Matthew and Luke is susceptible of critical demonstration.

We have had occasion in our study of the composition of the Markan discourses to observe that our evangelist is not lacking in acquaintance either with the Greek Old Testament, or with Jewish legend, and that he uses Q material in combination with such data under doctrinal influence of Pauline type. The present instance shows the same characteristics. The Elias legend is used in combination with Is. 40:3 and II Kings 1:8 to develop a theme borrowed from Q. The interest in the reformatory movement of the Baptist as such is *nil*. Interest in John's contribution to the manifestation of the Christ by an anointing which reveals Jesus as endowed with divine power is supreme.

2. The Temptation. The dependence of Mk. 1:12 f. on Q (Mt. 4:2-11=Lk. 4:2-13) is commonly recognized. We note only Mark's complete disregard for its ethical teaching. The Temptations pre-

sent a threefold contrast of a Christ "after the things of men" with Christhood after "the things of God." So far as this affects Mark at all it is reserved for the Rebuke of Peter at Caesarea Philippi (*cf.* 8:33 with Mt. 4:8-11=Lk. 4:5-8). Mark interests himself little enough in the teaching, but proceeds to draw inferences as to matters of supposed concrete fact. The Son of God, adopted by and filled with the Spirit, put Satan to flight. The addition of the subjection of the wild beasts after the ministration of the angels is derived not from Q directly, but from the Scripture quoted in Q (Ps. 91:13 continuing verse 12).

3. Passing over the section relating the Beginning of the Ministry (Mk. 1:1-39), perhaps derived in the main from the Apostle Peter by oral tradition, we come to a group of anecdotes designed to show how the opposition of scribes and Pharisees was roused by Jesus' claims of authority, his vindication of it provoking conspiracy against his life (Mk. 1:40-3:6). The two Sabbath controversies which form the conclusion of this section are separated from the earlier portion (1:40-2:22) by Matthew (2:23-3:6=Mt. 12:1-14) and have to do with a different though kindred issue. They are probably from some other context. We may limit ourselves here to the earlier portion (1:40-2:22).

The incident of the Leper (1:40-45) stands somewhat apart. It has no chronological relation to the context and seems to be adduced merely to illustrate how Jesus was compelled to withdraw from importunity. Whether any other motive exists for its introduction here we may enquire later.

The remainder of the section deals with objections raised against Jesus on the ground that he (a) proclaims a gospel of Forgiveness of Sins (2:1-12); (b) consorts with Publicans and Sinners (13-17); (c) Disregards the set Fasts (18-20). He answers first, by appeal to the mighty works of healing; second, by declaring the nature of his mission, which is for "sinners" and belongs to "sons of the bride-chamber" (who are exempt from fasting). As representatives of the old order before the glad tidings "the disciples of John" appear in verse 18 along with the Pharisees. The section concludes with two proverbs of unknown derivation whose application is a radical one. The new order cannot be treated as a patching up of the old (verse 21). The attempt to impose constraint on new forces will bring explosion (verse 22). Luke adds a third proverb of more or less contradictory bearing (Lk. 5:39).

Even without the "disciples of John" the affinity of this group to the Q series just drawn upon for the description of the Baptist (Mt. 11:2-19=Lk. 7:18-35) would be apparent. Jesus' vocation is

that of the Isaian herald of peace. It is by appeal to his mighty works of healing (though in a different manner from the Markan) that Jesus in this Q context vindicates his divine mission. In particular he causes the "lame" to walk and proclaims glad tidings (in the Isaian sense of divine forgiveness) to the poor (that is, destitute Israel). He refers incidentally in the Q discourse to having "cleansed lepers," in spite of the fact that in the basic passage from Is. 29 : 18 f.; 35 : 5 f.; 61 : 1 no reference is made to the healing of leprosy. One can hardly fail to infer that the preceding Q narrative contained an account of the cleansing of a leper or lepers. Only in the Lukan form, however, is the "glad tidings to the poor" specifically illustrated. Lk. 7 : 36-50 continues the vindication of this Isaian mission of the Christ by the incident of the penitent "woman that was a sinner" who bedewed the feet of Jesus with her tears at the table of the Pharisee, hastily wiping away the defiling drops with her hair. Jesus thereupon declares her sins forgiven, to the scandalizing of the Pharisee, but vindicates his declaration by the evidence that "she loved much." In this Lukan form (Matthew's omission of the incident of the sinful woman forgiven is paralleled by his omission of the Widow's Mites, and the omission of the Woman Taken in Adultery by all our canonical evangelists) the Q group supplies the true foundation of the Markan. For it cannot be maintained that the bald appeal to miracle in support of claims to superhuman authority in Mk. 2 : 1-12 is more authentic than the Q description of Jesus' vindication of his declaration of "glad tidings to the poor" by the visible divine coöperation. The Markan form is certainly secondary, materializing, unpoetic, dogmatic. It draws from the Q material (in the Lukan form) certain incidents; (a) the healing of a leper (?); (b) causing a lame man to walk; (c) eating with publicans and sinners; (d) declaring sins forgiven; (e) disregarding fasts; (f) declaring the disciples sons of the bride-chamber (*cf.* Mt. 11 : 17-19=Lk. 7 : 33-35). These incidents are then employed to prove the divine authority of Jesus in controversy with scribes and Pharisees, and the series is closed by two radically anti-Jewish logia.[2] The section as a whole is completed by the addition of two incidents of Sabbath controversy and winds up with the statement that, "The Pharisees went out, and straightway with the Herodians (?) took counsel against him how they might destroy him." As compared with the Q material, even

[2] The Isaian parallel seems to have continued in the Source with an opening of deaf ears and blind eyes, and a setting at liberty of Satan's captives (Mt. 12 : 22-29=Lk. 11 : 14-22; *cf.* Is. 43 : 8; 49 : 24-26; 61 : 1). Mark uses this in a later context (Mk. 7 : 32-37; 8 : 11 f., 22-26).

in the Lukan form, this cannot be regarded as primitive. It is probable, then, that the healings of the leper and the paralytic ("the lame walk") were related in the Second Source. Whether in this form and connection is much more doubtful. The application, to demonstrate the authority of the Son of Man to forgive sins and to disregard the Mosaic observances, is Mark's; but clearly the suggestion comes from the Q material, where the question is raised by the messengers of John. The cruder type of Christology and the balder appeal to miracle are characteristic of Mark. Here "the disciples of John" are mentioned only incidentally (*cf.* Jn. 5: 1 ff., 33).

4. In the section dealing with the Choosing and Sending of the Twelve (Mk. 3:7-6:13) there are many traces of the mode of composition and sources employed in this Gospel. As regards use of the Second Source we have already shown admixture from it in the Discourse in Parables (4:1-34) and pointed out that the paragraph relating the Blasphemy of the Scribes, interjected into the midst of the introductory Mother and Brethren incident (3:22-30), is derived from the same source. Mark's aim is to strengthen the indictment against the Jewish "kin according to the flesh," from whom the "mystery of the kingdom" is taken, that it may be given to those who "do the will of God." To this anti-Jewish motive already noted we may now add a comparison of the difference of the Markan from the Q Christology as shown in the section on the Authority of the Son of Man.

We have also an appeal to miracle in the more authentic Q version. But it is no self-glorification of Jesus. On the contrary he merely suggests to John and others who are "stumbled in" the Son of Man, that they observe what God is doing *through* Jesus to fulfil the Isaian promise. The lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the nation in poverty and death has "glad tidings" of forgiveness and restoration to life proclaimed to it. In Q the subject for consideration is not Jesus personally ("blessed is he who shall not be stumbled in me"), but the work of God effected through him. Jesus is God's agent and messenger. God confirms the message by His own healing strength sent into the physically weak, and by the flood of "much love" overflowing in the hearts of penitent "sinners." In the Markan form of the argument Jesus *personally* exercises the power. As "Son of man" (2:10; *cf.* Mt. 11:19=Lk. 7: 34) he confirms his own word of authority. The difference between Q and Mark in the paragraph on the Blasphemy of the Scribes is identical. In Q Jesus argues "If I by the finger (Mt. 'spirit') of

God cast out demons his sovereignty is seen to be already dominant among you.'' The evidence of Jesus' message is God's confirmation of it by the work of His Spirit, a stronger than the ''strong man armed'' of Is. 49:24 f. In Mark's form of the story Jesus himself is the ''Mighty One,'' by speaking against whom the scribes have committed the unpardonable sin. The sentence omitted by him (Mt. 12:27 f.=Lk. 11:19 f.) is the very key to the meaning and reveals a truly reverent attitude of Jesus toward the mighty works, both here and in the preceding section.

In both the intercalated paragraph on the Blasphemy of the Scribes and the additions to the Discourse in Parables the Q material in Mark appears to be superimposed. Q material appears to be employed also at the end of the section in the Mission of the Twelve (6:7-13; *cf.* Mt. 10:1, 9-14=Lk. 9:1-6=10:1-12); but in this case all that can be clearly shown is that the Markan form is the later (in Q the principle is 'No more is needful than to go as you are': in Mark 'Avoid every superfluity'). The relation of the source-material to the composition is less manifest. Still, since the ending belongs to the skeletal structure of the Gospel, it is reasonable in this case as before to regard the evangelist personally as responsible for the extract.

Other data are not wanting in Mk. 3:7-6:13 to prove the heterogeneous derivation of the material. The opening paragraph consists of an editorial expansion of the first verse, ''And Jesus with his disciples withdrew to the sea, and a great multitude from Galilee and Judea followed.'' The sequel to this was probably the scene of 4:1 ff. The expansion consists of three parts occupying the rest of the chapter. All of these additions bear in their contents the traces of alien derivation.

(1) The description of the outside multitude in verses 8-12 is attached by means of an awkward duplication (*καὶ ἠκολούθησαν . . . καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν*), and consists of mere scraps borrowed from the context (10:1; 7:24; 4:1; 5:29, 31; 6:56; 5:6 f.; 1:34). The purpose of the addition to verse 7 is merely to enlarge the horizon and prepare for the general lesson of the section.

(2) The list of the Twelve (verses 13-19) is introduced by a similar awkward duplication (*καὶ ἐποίησεν δώδεκα . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς δώδεκα*), and shows its alien derivation by the fact that Levi (called after the first four according to 2:14) finds no place in it, while the name ''Peter'' has now to be explained. The list in its original form can easily be restored in verses 16 ff. as follows:

And he made the Twelve: Peter and James and John and Andrew, etc.

The grammatical infelicities show that the comments explaining surnames are later additions.

(3) The incident of the Mother and Brethren (3:20 f., 31-35) parallels a logion of the Special Source of Luke (Lk. 11:27 f.). The motive for its introduction here is made more clearly apparent by the redundancy of the style in verses 31-35, where clauses are heaped one upon another to make unmistakable the application of the logion to "those that were about him with the Twelve." One may gauge the measure of freedom Mark allows himself in reporting logia from this source by comparing original and adaptation. It is made introductory here to the Discourse in Parables considered as a Hiding of the Mystery from Outsiders, and therefore belongs to the editorial adaptation. Of the further reënforcement by interjection of the Q passage in verses 22-30 we have already spoken.

5. The section describing Jesus' retirement from Galilee (Mk. 6:14-8:26) is even more clearly marked than its predecessor by duplication, separation of contexts, and other traces of editorial manipulation.

Herod's Comment (6:14-16) is not the continuation, as even critical readers of the Gospel sometimes assume, of the Mission of the Twelve (6:7-13), nor even of the Visit to Nazareth (6:1-6) which next precedes. It is a sequel to the series of Mighty Works in 4:35-5:43, which culminate in the Raising of the Daughter of Jairus (5:21-43). "People were saying (read ἔλεγον, not ἔλεγεν) John the Baptizer is risen from the dead, and therefore do *these powers* work in him." The reference is to the mighty works of Jesus, in particular his raising Jairus' daughter from the dead, for such wonders were expected of Elias redivivus. The intercalation of the Visit to Nazareth, and the Mission of the Twelve destroys this connection. The latter paragraph we have just seen to be derived from Q. The former probably comes from the Special Source of Luke. At least the logion is paralleled in Lk. 4:16-30, in a context much of which is independent of Mark, and the phraseology (σοφία, δύναμις, προφήτης) recalls this source, the series of Faith Wonders begun at 4:35 closes at 5:43, the Gerasene Demoniac (5:1-20) being of alien type.[3] Possibly the Lame made to Walk (2:1-5, 11 f.), which illustrates the same theme, may have been originally one of the group. But the Visit to Nazareth, setting in contrast the "unbelief" of Jesus' "own kin," was not its proper close. Need-

[3] See Bacon on "The Markan Theory of Demonic Recognition of the Christ" in *ZNW* VI. (1905), pp. 153-158. The story has perhaps been influenced by the incident of Acts 16:17.

less to dwell on the anti-Jewish sentiment shown in the appending of this addition.

The sequel to Herod's Comment has disappeared entirely. Digressing to tell the circumstances under which Herod had "beheaded John" Mark forgets entirely to inform the reader what ensued upon his hearing of the mighty works of Jesus. Originally something more must have been intended than to show that Antipas was more superstitious than his subjects. The parallel from the Special Source of Luke (Lk. 13:31 f.) allows the reasonable conjecture (so Wellhausen) that Jesus was now obliged to withdraw from Herod's jurisdiction. On the late and legendary character of the digression we have already dwelt to sufficient extent.[4]

The closing scene of the Galilean Ministry is the Feeding of the Multitude, with its sequel the Walking on the Sea and Landing at Gennesaret (6:30-55, 56). Notoriously this section is duplicated by 8:1-10, which repeats the miracle on the non-Jewish side of the Lake. But in giving his interpretation of the logion "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees" (8:15; *cf.* Lk. 12:1), our evangelist (the same who in 3:6 and 12:13 makes the "Pharisees and Herodians" the conspirators against Jesus) shows that he fully intends this duplication. To him each of the two miracles of the loaves has its own significance. The paragraph rebukes the Twelve for inability to go beneath the surface sense. Clearly the reader also is expected to apply spiritual discernment.

In our discussion of the Discourse on Inward Purity[5] we have seen how Mark has drawn upon Q material (Lk. 11:37-41=Mt. 23:25 f.) to connect his account of Jesus' journey to "the coasts of Tyre and Sidon" with the First Miracle of the Loaves (6:56[6]-7:37). The sequel to the Second Miracle of the Loaves is parallel, and also composed of Q material. Landing from the boat Jesus comes again into collision with the Pharisees; not now, however, in alliance with Scribes from Jerusalem, nor on the point of neglect of the ablutions, but on the issue of a Sign from Heaven, which in the Q context (Lk. 11:16, 29 ff.=Mt. 12:38-42) *forms part of the same discourse*. Moreover this same Q discourse takes its start from a mighty work of Jesus described in Mt. 12:22 as exorcizing a demon "blind and dumb" (in Lk. 11:14 "blind") so that the multitudes marvelled. Curiously, the first of the two Markan groups closes with the Healing of a Deaf-mute, elaborated with great descriptive detail (7:31-37), the second group closes with the Heal-

[4] Above, p. 72.
[5] Above, p. 146 ff.
[6] This verse repeats editorially verses 53-55.

ing of a Blind Man, similarly elaborated with the same sort of descriptive detail (8:22-26). These are the only two miracles related in Mark which have not been transcribed by the later Synoptists, but even these form no exception if identified with the corresponding Q healings. The closeness of the relation appears not merely in the healings themselves, but in the response of the bystanders:

Mt. 12:23.	Mk. 7:37.	Lk. 11:14.
And all the multitudes were astonished and said: Can this be the Son of David?	And they were beyond measure astonished, saying, He hath done all things well; he maketh even the deaf to hear and the dumb to speak.	And the multitudes marvelled.

The reason for the Markan descriptive elaboration is symbolic. Language and motive alike are from the Old Testament (μογιλάλος, 7:32, found only in Is. 35:6 LXX; ἀκοαί, in this sense only Mk. 7:33; Acts 17:20; and LXX; ἄλαλος, only Mk. 7:37 and 9:17, 25 and LXX; ὄμματα, 8:23 and Mt. 20:34, elsewhere LXX only). The motive is taken from Is. 29:18 (*cf.* Wisdom 10:21). It is worth observing that this passage on the deaf and blind seeing and hearing to the shame of the wise men is part of the context of the passage on "commandments of men" quoted just before in Mk. 7:6 f., and that the whole chapter (Is. 29) was the *locus classicus* against the Synagogue employed by the Nazarene Christians of Beroea in Syria in the time of Apollinarios. One must further compare the Matthean abstract of Mk. 7:31-37 in Mt. 15:29-31, and the relation of both to Is. 29:9-24 to fully appreciate the literary relations of this intricate section. In brief, Mark is making *two* applications of the Miracle of the Loaves understood as symbolizing the dissemination of the teaching. In 7:1-37 the Scribes and Pharisees and their "precepts of men" are forsaken, Jesus going to the Gentiles in Phoenicia and Decapolis. In 8:1-26 the Pharisees are forsaken a second time in "the parts of Dalmanutha" (?) and Jesus comes to "Bethsaida" (8:10, 22). In reality the reference to "the village" (κώμη) in the story itself (verse 26) shows that the city of Bethsaida in Philip's territory cannot have been the original scene. Mark is advancing his story toward Caesarea Philippi (verse 27). The original scene was doubtless one of the "villages" of Gennesaret mentioned in the introductory description 6:53-56.

The omission of the entire section Mk. 6:45-8:26 by Luke is not due to its absence from the form of Mark before him, for it

was present in Matthew's text, and Luke himself gives some traces of acquaintance with it. Luke may have recognized its duplicate character. But the chief reason is that he has a far more historical and fuller account in Acts of the breaking down of the statutes and ordinances erected against Gentile participation in the promises which Paul speaks of as a "middle wall of partition." Luke therefore cancels Mark's more polemic account of how Jesus with a sweeping utterance "made all meats clean" and thereafter "went away into the borders of Tyre and Sidon," repeating in Gentile territory his miracles of healing, exorcism, and bread from heaven. Historically Luke's cancellation was certainly an improvement. Even Paul admits that Jesus became "a minister of the circumcision for the sake of the promises made to the fathers." But Mark out-Pauls Paul. As before he has utilized Q material,[7] in fact two kinds of Q material. And he has made diligent use of the Greek Old Testament. But his composition, earlier as it is than either Luke or Matthew, shows clearly that it is by no means primitive. It is an intricate interweaving of older documents with a pronounced anti-Jewish and (in the broad sense) Pauline propensity.

6. The second part of Mark begins at Caesarea Philippi with the Revelation to Peter and the Twelve of the Doctrine of the Cross. Their unwillingness to receive it marks the culmination of that Jewish "hardness of heart" which according to Mark infected even the Twelve (6:52; 7:18; 8:18, 21). The Revelation to Peter therefore becomes the fit occasion for Jesus' rebuke of Satan furnished by the Q story of the Temptation (8:33; *cf.* Mt. 4:8-11= Lk. 4:5-8). Attachment is made to the slender thread of historical narrative at 6:14 f., and if at any point of the Gospel one is entitled to look for direct testimony from the Apostle it may well be here. Still the context is shot through with Q logia in combination with Old Testament passages (with 8:35 *cf.* Mt. 10:39=Lk. 17:33; with verse 37 Ps. 49:8, and with verse 38 Mt. 10:32 f.=Lk. 12:8 f.). In addition Mark has appended after 9:1 a vision-interpretation corresponding to the vision of the Baptism, which interprets under the conventional forms of Jewish midrash the significance of the title "Son of God."

The midrash of 1:10 f. is based on the passage Is. 42:1-4, in the rendering employed in Mt. 12:18-21.[8] In the present midrash the fundamental passage is Dt. 18:15-19. Jesus by his glorification becomes the prophet "like unto Moses." It is not, however, the func-

[7] See the note above on p. 158.

[8] Υἱός instead of παῖς is common in the Servant passages employed in Wisdom of Solomon.

tion of Moses as law-giver which is here chiefly in mind, but (in accordance with current apocalyptic teaching) Moses who in company with Elias redivivus returns from Paradise to usher in the transcendent kingdom of God. For in this new world the corporeal condition of the redeemed is not to be a "tabernacle" of perishable flesh, but a "building" of God, a glorified body, "from heaven." Both these midrashoth, interpreting the meaning of the ensuing narrative as manifestations respectively of the Servant-Son and the Prophet-Son of Man, are vitally important to the Christology of Mark. They embody his essential conception of the career of Jesus which he undertakes to narrate. Both titles have a relation to the teaching of Paul, the former to Col. 1:13, 19, the latter to II Cor. 3:7-5:10. This we must in due time examine. For the present we must limit ourselves to noting the fact that the Transfiguration Vision is not composed by Mark, but incorporated from some source wherein midrash was understood, and which made intelligible the conceptions of Jesus as Isaian Servant, as Prophet like unto Moses, or as the Son of Man who brings in the conditions of Paradise.

In Mk. 9:2-10 the conceptions are so alien as to be unintelligible to minds unfamiliar with Jewish modes of thought and current apocalypse. Moreover 9:11 ff. does not continue the Transfiguration episode. On the contrary it is almost irreconcilable with it, giving a different answer to the question of the preliminary Coming of Elias. It continues the Encouragement to share the Martyrdom of Jesus in View of Ultimate Glory (8:31-9:1), especially the promise that some of the by-standers "shall not taste of death" before the Coming. This peculiar expression unavoidably recalls current belief concerning "the men which were taken up, which have not *tasted death* from their birth," that is, Enoch (according to others Moses) and Elias. According to II Esdras 6:28 the last survivors of the old order, after the great tribulation, are to see "the men which have been taken up (translated), the men which have not *tasted death* from their birth." They are denizens of Paradise who prepare the world for the new order. After the promise of 9:1 that the Manifestation will come before some of the by-standers have "tasted death" the question of the disciples is most natural "How is it that the scribes say that Elias must first come?" (9:11). After the questioners have just seen Moses and Elias it is most unnatural. The idea that John the Baptist is Elias belongs to the evangelist. The Vision of Moses and Elias is therefore a foreign importation. It is made indeed by Mark himself, but is not digested and assimilated.

A further addition made by Mark in the interest of his own

eschatological expectations is the story of the Healing of the Epileptic (9:14-29). The introductory setting (verse 14), importing "multitude," "scribes," and "disciples" regardless of the supposed circumstances of Jesus' retirement, shows that the incident is displaced. Again the anecdote (in itself considered) bears simply the same lesson of "faith" as the group 5:21-43 and the Healing of the Paralytic (2:1-5, 11 f.). The fact that it is here by adaptation only is further evidenced by Mark's great elaboration of the symptoms (*cf.* 7:32-37; 8:22-26), particularly the employment of the characterization "dumb and deaf spirit" (*cf.* 7:32, 37 and Is. 29:18), in spite of the fact that epilepsy is the complaint. Symbolic use is also indicated by the choice of the phrase "cast him into the fire and into the waters" (*cf.* Ps. 60:12). As in the two preceding healings (7:32-37; 8:22-26) the story is applied to unbelieving Israel, the "mountain" of unbelief against which the Church in Apostolic times struggled in vain, but which it expected to be removed by the returning Christ. The "spirit of stupor" (*cf.* Mk. "dumb and deaf spirit") cast upon Israel (Rom. 11:8) would ultimately be withdrawn (Rom. 11:26). In the meantime Israel's condition is expressed in the phrase: "The more part said 'He is dead.'" Forbearance with this "unbelieving generation" is the attitude taught by Jesus (verse 19).[9] By appending at the close the Q saying on Mountain-moving Faith (Mt. 17:20 f.=Lk. 17:5 f.) Matthew shows that he appreciates this application of the story, perhaps because he knows the connection apart from Mark.

After thus presenting his religious lesson (Jesus the Crucified Redeemer who Overcomes finally even Israel's Unbelief), Mark attaches the Discourse on Receiving *versus* Stumbling (9:30-50) of whose composition we have already spoken.[10] The group which follows on Rank and Reward in the Kingdom (10:13-45) forms a consecutive series, duplicating some elements of the Discourse, as already shown. The incident of Bartimaeus which closes it (10:46-52) is obviously transitional, leading over to the scenes in Jerusalem. Whatever the historical values, it is not for the sake of these that Mark introduces it. He is still thinking in terms of Israel's blindness (*cf.* 7:31-37 and 8:22-26) and applying the story to

[9] The primitive Church directed that its special fasting and prayer should be "for unbelieving Israel" (*Const. Apost.* xii-xix.: "When ye fast, pray for those who are perishing. . . . Do it on account of your brethren . . . entreating on behalf of the people of destruction. Pray to God that he will turn Israel back again." *Cf. Epist. Apost.* in Schmidt-Wajnberg Exc. III, *T.u.U.* XLIII (1919), on fasts for "disobedient Israel").

[10] Above, p. 144 ff.

Jesus' reception as "Son of David." Little if anything can be inferred from the parallels as to the source of the anecdote. Possibly somewhat more might be gathered regarding the source of the prefixed logion on Divorce (10:2-12), which appears in the Q form in Mt. 5:31 f.=Lk. 16:18. It has little real relation to the group on Rank and Reward in the Kingdom, and appears to owe its interjection here to the anti-Jewish animus of Mark. As in verses 17-22 obedience to the Mosaic commandments is declared good but insufficient for "eternal life," so here Mosaism is shown as man-made (*cf.* 7:8 "the tradition of men"), God having enjoined a higher law "from the beginning of the creation." The appended private explanation to the Twelve (verses 11 f.) is in the editorial manner of Mark. Its conformity to Roman (not Jewish) law is commonly cited as an indication of the editor's environment.

In the so-called Peraean section of Mark (8:27-10:52) we have thus the same phenomena of composition as elsewhere, a fundamental outline presumably Petrine, with large admixture of Q material in radically adapted form, the doctrinal standpoint being ultra-Pauline, or (to employ the term suggested in the *Commentary*) Paulinistic. Other critics will doubtless differ from our explanation of sources, meaning, and adaptation. It will probably not be denied, however, by competent judges that there are phenomena of duplication, displacement, and adaptation sufficient to prove that the material of this section also is not in its primary condition, but stands at a remove of several stages from apostolic eye-witnesses. It is this demonstration which at present we have chiefly in view.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEW PASSOVER

In the closing section of the Gospel the thread of authentic narrative is deeply buried under successive strata of religious story, told for purposes of edification. We have seen in our discussion of the discourse material that sections such as the Eschatological Discourse, the Parable of the Usurping Husbandmen, and the Woes on the Scribes, rest upon Q material (embodied in the Special Source of Luke) in combination with Old Testament passages. We shall find, as we now come to consider the composition of the narrative elements in the same section, that similar account can be given of the superimposed narrative material. The nucleus of primitive tradition was of course that of the Supper (I Cor. 11:23).

1. For such additional analysis of the section closing with the allegory of the Usurping Husbandmen as may be required after our discussion of this discourse[1] we may be permitted to refer to the *Commentary* (p. 155). Critics in general will admit that the historical groundwork here must be the *coup d'état* of Jesus in taking control of the temple to make it "a house of prayer,"[2] together with the reaction of the authorities, who as yet are unable to overcome Jesus' popular support. We have no proof that the Source contained an account of the Purging of the Temple, but as shown in the *Commentary* (p. 164) a paragraph relating the reaction of the authorities to some aggression of the sort, and Jesus' reply to their challenge appears in fuller form in Q (Mt. 21:28-32=Lk. 7:29 f.; 15:11-32). Priority is clearly on the side of this source as against Mark.

The superimposed material in this section of Mark consists of (1) an elaboration of the Triumphal Entry (11:1-10); (2) the Episode of the Barren Fig Tree (12-14, 20-25); (3) the allegory of the Usurping Husbandmen (12:1-12). Of (3) we have already spoken. For (1) the basis seems to be the Q passage Mt. 23:39=Lk. 13:35 (Jerusalem welcoming those who "come in the name of the Lord") in combination with Zech. 9:9 LXX[3] and the Passover Psalm (Ps.

[1] Above, p. 148 f.

[2] Mark shows his Gentile interest and his knowledge of Scripture by adding "for all the Gentiles"; *cf.* the parallels and Jer. 7:11.

[3] The origin of the statement that no man had ever sat upon the colt brought to Jesus (Mk. 11:2) appears to be the LXX rendering of Zech. 9:9 (*νέον πῶλον*, "an unbroken colt").

118 : 25 f.). The substratum is unquestioned. It is even self-evident. Jesus undoubtedly entered Jerusalem with a company of Galileans shortly before Passover 30 A.D. He may very well have ridden on an ass. But Jn. 12 : 16 is quite explicit in its witness that no special meaning was seen in his manner of entry until the later period of apologetic. It is significant also that no reference is made to the Triumphal Entry when effort is being made some days later to find evidence on which to secure from Pilate a condemnation of Jesus as a messianistic agitator. The elaboration of this scene belongs, therefore, to the secondary developments of the story. If there be real connection with Q it is of the same type as other Markan elaborations frequently noted.

The Barren Fig Tree (11 : 12-14) has already been sufficiently characterized as a typical Markan transformation into prosaic fact of Q symbolism. The Special Source of Luke (Lk. 13 : 6-9) has the same lesson in the form of parable. In verses 20-25 a queue of logia is appended. As in 4 : 21-25 and 9 : 30-50 one imported logion seems to attract another. On the Sequel to the Cursing of the Fig Tree (verses 20-25) we may quote the *Commentary* (p. 162) :

> This agglutination of Q material seems to be the work of a later editorial hand than 11 : 12-14, which is really complete in itself. Even the language (*παραχρῆμα* in Mt. 21 : 19, *ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*, ver. 25) is entirely foreign to Mark. The editor's interest has no relation to the symbolism for the sake of which 11 : 12-14 is introduced at this point of the story (Jerusalem's visitation). He has in mind simply a lesson for wonder-workers. The lesson is similar to that of the Faith series (4 : 35-5 : 43; 9 : 14-29), and in the Q form (Mt. 17 : 20=Lk. 17 : 3-6) actually follows (at least in Matthew) the final incident of that series.

As in 4 : 21-25 Q logia appear superimposed on material already secondary.

2. Brief analysis has already been given of the section preliminary to the Eschatological Discourse, beginning at Mk. 12 : 13-34 with a series of Questions of Pharisee, Sadducee, and Scribe, and supplemented at the close with (1) a Question of the Christ (12 : 35-37) ; (2) a Denunciation of the Scribes (38-40) ; and (3) the Widow's Mites (41-44). The Questions of Pharisee, Sadducee, and Scribe cannot be traced to any known source, but have been widely recognized as forming an erratic block.[4] The argument for the Ascension in 12 : 35-37 based on Ps. 110 : 1 gives Pauline Christology (*cf.* Rom. 1 : 4) developed on the basis of an Old Testament proof-text already utilized by Paul in briefer allusion, precisely as in 4 : 11 f., and 7 : 7. For this and other reasons set forth in the

[4] So, *e.g.*, in Wendt's *Lehre Jesu*, I, pp. 23 ff.

Commentary this appended fourth question may be ascribed to Mark personally. The Denunciation of the Scribes (38-40) is best accounted for as an abstract from the corresponding Q discourse. As regards the Widow's Mites (41-44) our only means of judging its derivation is the close affinity of the sentiment displayed in it to the Special Source of Luke, in which women in general, but especially poor women, widows, and outcasts, play a leading part, appealing to the reader's sympathy. Matthew admits but a single instance of this type, the Anointing in Bethany (Mk. 14:3-9=Mt. 26:6-13=Lk. 7:37b, 38b, 46).[5] But in Mk. 14:9 this story is accompanied by a solemn adjuration against omission.

So far as its elements can be traced the composition of this section of Mark thus shows the characteristics already noted. We find a supplementary use of Q material coupled with Old Testament passages under Pauline (or Paulinistic) doctrinal influence.

3. The thread of authentic narrative in the story of the Betrayal, Cross, and Resurrection can fortunately be identified by references of Paul. To the Betrayal (Mk. 14:1-11), and the story of the Supper (22-25) referred to in I Cor. 11:23-25, we may doubtless add, as surely based to some extent on Peter's own narration, Gethsemane and Peter's Denial (14:29-50, 54, 66-72). We can have less confidence in the account of the Preparation of the Passover (14:12-16), the Prediction of Betrayal (17-21), and of Manifestation in Galilee (28), and especially the description of the trial scene before the Sanhedrin (53b, 55-64). These four addenda are lacking in authentication by any outside witness, and in some cases (notably the last) give evidence of Markan composition on the basis of Lukan source-material.

The Anointing in Bethany (14:3-9) seems to be introduced as the motive for Judas' Betrayal. The story is certainly based on authentic tradition. But in Mark the connection is obscured in two ways. (1) Mk. 1:1-13 describes a messianic anointing through the baptism of John as Elias redivivus. This displays the true significance of the present more primitive story. Only in the sense of a messianic anointing of Jesus as Son of David can the woman's tribute be understood. This also explains Jesus' gentle but tragic transformation of the meaning: "Not for a throne, but for the tomb." Jesus had similarly turned the point in the case of Peter's Confession. Mark takes no interest in this evidence of the woman's faith in Jesus as Son of David, hence the reader is also apt to miss the point. (2) The betrayal is thought of as if the authorities were

[5] With Matthew's cancellation of stories in praise of feminine devotion *cf.* the fragments of *Ev. Egypt.* in Preuschen's *Antilegomena,* p. 2.

at a loss where to find Jesus. This is shown to be wrong by verse 49. What the rulers wanted was evidence to convict Jesus before Pilate of designs of rebellion. Judas could meet their need by attesting his having been anointed "king of the Jews." As such he could be, and was in reality, brought to execution. The story of the Anointing in Bethany appears thus in Mark as an erratic block of older material, kindred in sentiment to the Special Source of Luke. Its implication of secret conspiracy on the part of the rulers is surely historical, and is borne out by occasional references even in Mark (14:8 f.) which fail to harmonize with the rest. We may therefore discount Mark's scenes of *public* condemnation. Anti-Jewish apologetic aims to place upon the Sanhedrin officially the responsibility for condemnation of the claims of Jesus as "blasphemy." Hence Mark's representations of formal trial on this issue. The historic fact was a "delivering up" to Pilate kept as secret as possible.

From its emphasis on a non-Markan conception we have inferred that the Anointing in Bethany belongs to an older source (the Special Source of Luke?), and appears in Mk. 14:3-9 by adaptation only. Incorporation from some extraneous source is made more probable by the fact that the incident appears quite otherwise dated in Jn. 12:1-8, and in this case the dating explains the significance attached. Epiphanius (*Haer.* L. 3) tells us that the observance of the "setting apart of the Passover lamb," fixed in the Law for the tenth day of Nisan, was still practiced by the Quartodecimans, who set apart the sacrificial lamb "from the tenth day, recognizing the name of Jesus on account of the iota" (that is, the initial letter of the name Jesus, which had the numerical value of ten). Quartodeciman practice is represented in the Fourth Gospel, and the representation of Jn. 12:1 that "six days before the Passover Jesus came to Bethany" means that on the evening of that date, which would begin the tenth of Nisan, the supper and anointing (related now substantially as in Mark) took place. Jesus is thus anointed to be the Lamb of God on the appointed day, just as (in John) his crucifixion also takes place at the very hour when the Passover lambs were being sacrificed in the temple. The dating may be as unreliable in one case as the other, but the *effort* to date this incident on the tenth of Nisan gives welcome light on the significance found in it.[6]

[6] *Cf.* the "six days" of preparation for the revelation on "the holy mount" Mk. 9:2=Mt. 17:1. The interval is Jewish (Ex. 20:9; 24:16) and was followed by many churches in Easter observance. The "six days" of fasting in preparation for the celebration of the Easter Passover are mentioned by Dionysius of Alexandria in his letter to Basilides (Routh, *Reliquiae,* iii., pp. 223 ff.).

4. We come thus to a strange peculiarity of Mark, responsible for centuries of controversy in the Church. This Gospel presents a series of datings in its story of Passion Week, such as are given nowhere else, and are only partially transcribed by Matthew and Luke. These dates can have no other object than to determine with precision, even to the hour of the day, the successive events commemorated by ritual observance in the sacred three-day period of fasting and feasting which covered Good Friday and Easter.[7]

The remarkable fact is that while the fundamental narrative of Mark itself clearly implies a dating like that of the Fourth Gospel, which corresponds to Quartodeciman observance, the Gospel of Mark in its present form superimposes upon this a different chronological system. Mark as we have it represents that the farewell supper in the upper room was the actual Passover, not (as the fourth evangelist and the internal evidence implies) the regular supper of the preceding day. The reader is thus compelled to assume that the Jewish rulers, in spite of their fears of "a tumult at the feast," after all brought Jesus to the cross on the very day they most desired to avoid, and that repeated violations of the sanctity of the paschal sabbath were committed; not merely by the Sanhedrin, but by chance-comers such as Simon of Cyrene, and even by Jesus and the Twelve, who go forth to the Mount of Olives regardless of the Passover law that none "go forth from the door of his house until the morning." The self-contradictions of Mark's own story, combined with the testimony of the Fourth Gospel and the practice of the Eastern churches since the days of Paul, have now brought many leading critics to the recognition of the artificiality of these Markan datings. We may therefore refer to the *Commentary* for all detail, merely pointing out here that the scheme of Easter observance implied in Mark's datings is the Western, or Roman, which already differed from the Eastern so early as when Polycarp visited Rome in 154 A.D. Polycarp would not yield his own mode of observance which was based on the day of the (lunar) year. He claimed personal knowledge that this had been the method followed by "the Apostles." But his host, Anicetus of Rome, claimed equal antiquity for Western observance, which reckoned by week-days and the solar year, making a particular Sunday after vernal equinox[8] the Feast of the Resurrection, and placing the

[7] See the subdivision by "watches" in 14: 12, 17 (followed by the Vigil, 26-52), 72; 15: 1, 25, 33, 34, 42; 16: 2.

[8] The reckoning of the Cappadocian and some Gallican churches adopted the Julian equinox itself, March 25, as the date of the annual feast, just as Christmas is still observed on the Julian winter solstice.

great Fast on the Friday before. Quartodecimans (including all the churches of Asia) celebrated the Resurrection Feast[9] on the day of the Jewish Passover, Nisan 14, no matter on what day of the week it might fall, commemorating on this single day the death and resurrection together. The preceding fast varied in length in various regions, but was equally independent of the day of the week. How far back of the year 154 this difference between East and West extended we cannot determine. But it is manifest that the original and apostolic practice must have been as the Asiatics claimed, a continuation of the Jewish Feast of Redemption in a new and higher sense, so that as Paul himself suggests in I Cor. 5: 6-8 and 15: 20, Christ's crucifixion could be equated with the purging out of the old leaven and slaying of the lamb on Nisan 14, his resurrection "on the third day, according to the Scriptures" with the uplifting of the sheaf of Firstfruits to God on Nisan 16.[10] The innovation lies with the Roman Gospel, which would do away altogether with the Jewish feast, substituting another not at all based on the sacred cycle of lunations so vitally important to oriental religion, but based primarily on the feasts and fasts of the *week*.[11] In this case at least Mark is more "Pauline" than Paul. We only marvel that Matthew and Luke remain at best ambiguous, while even the Fourth Gospel does not venture on more than "tacit" correction. To second-century readers this characteristic feature of Mark might in itself suffice to prove its Roman origin. To a still earlier generation it might be ground enough for the charge that the writer's order was incorrect, and lacked the supervision of an apostolic hand.

[9] The recent discovery of the *Epistola Apostolorum* has fortunately set forever at rest the improbable suggestion of some Tübingen critics that Quartodecimans celebrated the institution of the Supper (!).

[10] So, explicitly, the *Paschal Chronicle:* "Christ, the true Lamb, was sacrificed for us at the feast of the Passover ordained by the Law (Lev. 23: 5) and rose the third day, *when the priest was required to offer the wave-sheaf of Firstfruits* (Lev. 23: 11)."

[11] We may probably ascribe to this same ritual interest two other singularities of Mark. (1) In 2: 20 the particular day (*ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*) for Christian fasting is appointed, *viz.*, that in which the Bridegroom is taken away, *i.e.*, Friday, instead of the semi-weekly Jewish fasts. *Cf.* Lk. 18: 12 and *Didaché*, viii. (2) Mark habitually refers to the resurrection as "after three days" contrary to primitive tradition (I Cor. 15: 4). He thus causes great confusion to later interpreters. The period is probably named from ritual observance (fasting Friday and Saturday, feasting Sunday) according to practice at Rome in the mysteries of Attis celebrated there for centuries at the same season in the same fashion (Mar. 23-24 fasting, Mar. 25, the Hilaria). Later practice added Wednesday as the day of the Betrayal to the fast of Friday.

It was not primarily on the Gospels that the Asiatic Quartodecimans based their argument, but even more on immemorial observance, as testified by Polycarp, who (according to Irenaeus) had kept the Christianized Passover "with John the disciple of our Lord and the other Apostles with whom he had associated." Secondarily it was based on "the Gospels," the Fourth being certainly included, but the issue being joined over "Matthew" (!). Now moderns see clearly enough (perhaps more clearly than the evidence warrants) that Matthew follows the dating of Mark. But the ancients were by no means universally of this opinion. It is no other than the immediate successor of Papias in the see of Hierapolis, Claudius Apollinarios, who in a fragment quoted by the *Paschal Chronicle* defends his Quartodeciman practice against the charge that "Matthew" teaches otherwise. Certain ignorant and disputatious persons allege, says Apollinarios,

> that the Lord ate the Passover lamb together with his disciples on the fourteenth, and himself suffered on the great day of Unleavened Bread (Nisan 15); and they declare that Matthew reports the matter according to their understanding of it. Thus their understanding is in disagreement with the Law (of Moses), and according to them the Gospels (Matthew and John) are at variance.

It thus appears that Apollinarios, a representative bishop of the churches of Asia about 170 A.D., interpreted Mt. 26:2 and 17 in accordance with his own Asiatic ritual and the Fourth Gospel. If the discrepancy had already been observed in the time of his predecessor Papias, for whom also Matthew was authoritative, it was doubtless similarly met. Papias interpreted Matthew in agreement with Quartodeciman practice, which was in turn reflected in John. The disagreement of Mark may have been overlooked; but if observed it will have been ascribed to Mark's lack of apostolic "order." The Fourth Gospel was not brought into the controversy until advocates of Matthew began to allege disagreement between the two. Modern critics have expressed unnecessary surprise at this interpretation of Matthew, and an inability to understand how the harmonization was effected. But the *Paschal Chronicle,* which in general reflects the views of its quoted authorities, shows clearly enough by inserting the words of Mt. 26:1 in verse 17 how at least the later Quartodecimans argued. Their reading was "The disciples asked him . . . Behold, *after two days* cometh the Passover; where wilt thou, etc.," instead of "On the first day of Unleavened Bread his disciples asked him, etc." Their predecessors may have done less violence to the text, but certainly came to the same result. Perhaps they took the "first day of Unleavened Bread" in Mt. 26:17

as a designation for the prefixed "eighth day" of which we learn from Josephus (*Ant.* II, xv. 1). At all events in combining Jn. 11: 53-12: 1 with Mt. 26: 2, 17 the *Chronicle* (Dindorf, 1832, p. 409 f.) states explicitly:

It is manifest, therefore, that this (the supper) was not at the time of the Passover itself, but when it was to take place 'after two days'; and because he (Jesus) did not keep the Passover on the fourteenth day, but instituted the symbolic supper in advance of this, at the time when was held the *Sanctification* of Unleavened Bread (that is, the so-called *Kiddush* of the feast on the eve of its observance), and the Preparation of the feast, we find him (in the narrative) distributing to the disciples not sacrificial flesh, nor unleavened bread (the *mazzoth* prescribed for the Passover meal), but leavened bread and a cup (of wine). At this time he also washed the disciples' feet.[12]

Exegetically this may or may not be fair to Matthew. At least the matter is far less one-sided than moderns commonly assume, since Matthew, even in our own text, significantly cancels the decisive words of Mk. 14: 12 "when they sacrificed the Passover" (ὅτε τὸ πάσχα ἔθυον). But historically the statement of the *Chronicle* is correct. The farewell supper of Jesus with the Twelve was *not* the Passover, but the Sanctification (*Kiddush*) of Unleavened Bread, precisely as the Quartodecimans declare, the reasons which they give being also sufficient to prove the point, apart from other considerations. According to the rule of the "sanctification" of feasts and sabbaths called *kiddush*, the head of the household takes bread, blesses and breaks it, and distributes to the household. Then he takes a cup of wine, gives thanks, using the very formula "this fruit of the vine," and distributes this also. Next follows an ablution (in Jn. 13: 4 f. a washing of *feet*). Thereafter the meal proceeds. Even the difference of order characteristic of early Church observance, some placing the cup before the bread, others the bread before the cup, is also characteristic of Synagogue observance of the *kiddush*. As the Quartodecimans acutely observe, the Synoptists themselves recognize that at the supper which they describe Jesus does not distribute the flesh of the Passover lamb (which would have corresponded so much more closely with his body), but leavened bread (ἄρτος), which was not tolerated in the house after midday of the fourteenth. The ritual also is far from

[12] Δῆλον οὖν ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι τοῦ πάσχα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας. ὅτι δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν ιδ' ἐπετέλεσεν τὸ πάσχα, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτου τὸ τυπικὸν ἐτέλεσεν δεῖπνον, ὅτε καὶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς τῶν ἀζύμων καὶ ἡ προετοιμασία τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐγίνετο, εὑρίσκεται τοῖς μαθηταῖς μεταδιδοὺς οὐ θύματος οὐδὲ ἀζύμων, ἀλλ' ἄρτου καὶ ποτηρίου. ὅτε καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ἀπένιψεν τοὺς πόδας κτλ.

corresponding to that of Passover, with its five ceremonial cups, its sauce of bitter herbs, its recital of the story, and its warning not to go forth from the door of the house until the morning. It does correspond exactly with the ritual for the *eve* of Passover (ἡ προετοιμασία). The Quartodecimans of the churches of Asia may therefore have done violence to the meaning (perhaps even to the text) of Matthew. But historically they and the Fourth Gospel (a product of their own region, where since the days of Paul the feast had been celebrated as a "Passover of the Lord") were entirely in the right. The disturbing influence comes from the Gospel of Mark with its Roman calendar and datings, and its anti-Jewish proclivities. Unfortunately for our purposes it is not possible to say how far back beyond the origin of Matthew and Luke this reflection of divergent ritual at Rome can be carried. But certainly it cannot be easily ascribed to apostolic times. The seeds of this great separation through Rome's resistance to the practice of "all the churches of the East," can hardly have been sown "while Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the church at Rome."

5. We can devote but very brief space to the remaining phenomena of the story of Mark, its wide divergence from the Special Source of Luke, its apparent dependence, and (in most cases) inferior historicity. Notoriously Matthew in the Passion story follows Mark almost verbatim, while Luke altogether subordinates Mark. Technically, then, the non-Markan material cannot be designated Q. It is not "double-tradition" material. This does not imply necessarily a different origin from the Q material, but only that in most cases it is transmitted to us by only one of the two who elsewhere employ the source in common. In the *Commentary* this material is designated Q^{Lk}.

The Special Source of Luke has a very full account of the Institution of the New Covenant (Lk. 22:15-38), accompanied as in Jn. 15-16 by a Farewell Discourse. In this account of the Supper the dominant note is not (as in the Pauline form which the *a* text inserts) the atoning sacrifice, but a note of rejoicing in assurance of the triumph-feast to be celebrated "in the kingdom of God." It is a 'Eucharist,' or 'Thanksgiving' feast. Jesus, in parting from the Twelve, covenants to meet them at the banquet table of the New Jerusalem, the city "whither the tribes go up to give thanks unto the name of Jehovah." He promises that as they have been with him in his trials they shall also be with him in his glory, presiding as judges over Israel. For even so long ago as the days of Andreas of Caesarea it was perceived that the promise "Ye shall sit upon

thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel'' (Lk. 22:30=Mt. 20:28) is but an echo of Ps. 122:5:

> For there are set thrones for judgment
> The thrones of the house of David.

To make apparent the nature of this non-Markan account, and at the same time its relation to the Markan, the simplest method will be to set the two side by side, placing on the left those portions of Luke only which are not paralleled in Mark, and on the right the account of Mark.

Lk. 22:15-20 (β text).

15 And he said unto them: I have greatly desired [literally "With desire have I desired," a Semitism] to eat this Passover with you before I suffer. 16 For I tell you I shall surely not eat of it again until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God (*cf.* Mk. 25). 17 And he took a cup and gave thanks and said: Take this and divide it among yourselves; 18 for I say unto you, I shall surely no more drink from the 'fruit of the vine' from henceforth until the kingdom of God be come [*cf.* Mk. 25]. 19 And he took a loaf and gave thanks and brake it and gave them, saying: This is my body.[13]

21 But lo, the hand of him that 'delivereth me up' (Is. 53:12, LXX) is with me on the table. 22 For the Son of Man goeth according to what hath been determined; but woe unto that man through whom he is 'delivered up.' 23 And they began to dispute with one another which of them it was that should do this thing.

Mk. 14:22-25, 18-21.

22 And as they were eating he took a loaf and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them and said: Take, this is my body. 23 And he took a cup and gave thanks, and gave to them, and they all drank of it. 24 And he said unto them: This is my blood of the Covenant, which is shed on behalf of many. 25 Verily I say unto you, I shall no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.

(Mk. 18-21) 18 And as they were reclining at table and eating Jesus said, Verily I say unto you that one of you shall 'deliver me up,' 'he that eateth with me' (Ps. 41:19). They began to be grieved and to say unto him one after the other: It surely is not I? 20 But he said to them, It is one of the Twelve, even he that dippeth with me in the dish. 21 For the Son of Man goeth, as it is written concerning him; but woe to that man through whom the Son of Man is 'delivered up!' It were good for that man if he had never been born.

The story of Luke, taken by itself, and in the order in which Luke gives it, describes a preliminary address of Jesus; whether

[13] The α text inserts at this point the words of I Cor. 11:24 f.: ''which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me. And the cup in like manner after supper, saying: This cup is the New Covenant in my blood, which is shed on your behalf.''

preliminary to the *kiddush,* whose ritual is followed, or to the Passover supper, is not clearly apparent. For the words "this Passover" may of course equally well refer to the repast upon the table, or that of the morrow for which the "Sanctification" is preparatory. In this order Jesus, acting as the head of the house acts in the *kiddush* ritual, distributes the wine and the bread to the disciples, declining himself to share in either,[14] because he must suffer before the coming Passover, and will eat of it with them again only in its more glorious counterpart, the Redemption feast of the Kingdom. He will not even share in the cup of "the fruit of the vine" because he looks to an immediate fulfilment of the promise of redemption.

It is after these materials of the repast have been distributed, and *while the disciples are eating,* that the startling prediction is made of betrayal by one of the Twelve, a guest now sitting at the table. As Luke relates the story this brings the repast to a sudden end. "They began to dispute with one another which of them it was that should do this thing." The discontinuance of the meal is a necessary consequence of Jesus' appalling announcement. Mark, on the contrary, relates first in verses 18-21 that Jesus made it "as they were reclining at table and eating." Afterward, in verses 22 ff., he goes on to relate the institution of the Supper "as they were eating," precisely as if nothing had occurred to interrupt their repast. The transposition emphasizes the character of the rite as a memorial of Jesus' death, but is psychologically impossible. In addition the substitution of a questioning of Jesus "man by man" for the simple statement that "they began to dispute with one another" is but the first step along a path of historical deterioration which leads Matthew to add next the specific statement: "And Judas who delivered him up said: Surely it is not I, Rabbi? He saith to him, Thou hast said it," and John to construct a scene in which the clause "he that dippeth in the dish with me" (Mk. 14:20) becomes a signal conveyed to Peter through the Beloved Disciple. Jesus now even impels Judas to his treason by a kind of Satanic sacrament (Jn. 13:26 f.). In their anxiety to show that Jesus foresaw and foretold all, our evangelists forget that they make the disciples knowingly permit the traitor to carry out his purpose unhindered.

Doctrinally the contrast between the proto-Lukan and the

[14] Critics have observed that in the Lukan version of the Supper Jesus does not share the meal with his betrayer, and have questioned this as a later refinement. We may well ask rather whether it be not more true to fact. With such an announcement to make is it probable that Jesus would sit down to eat with the traitor?

Markan versions of the Institution of the Covenant is still more striking, recalling the rebuke of Paul to a certain element at Corinth who were disposed to celebrate the supper in quite too festive a spirit, without "discriminating the Lord's body," and doing scant justice to the fact that the observance was a memorial of "the Lord's death." Like the observance prescribed in the *Didaché,* whose order it follows in placing the cup before the breaking of the bread, the proto-Lukan Supper is primarily *a feast of thanksgiving for the coming Kingdom of David.* In the *Didaché* this thanksgiving is twofold: (1) For the (present) kingdom ("We thank thee for the vine of thy Servant David, which thou hast made known to us through thy Servant Jesus');[15] (2) For the (future) "gathering together of the Elect" ("Like as this broken bread (κλάσμα) was scattered (διεσκορπισμένον) upon the mountains, and being gathered became one loaf, so gather thy Church from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom"). Not a word appears of the atonement doctrine, unless the rare title "the Servant" applied to Jesus (but also applied to David) be considered such. The passion is not even mentioned. Forgiveness of sins does not appear at all, unless it be in the direction that none save the baptized be admitted. In this liturgy the salvation brought by Jesus is "light and knowledge." The proto-Lukan Covenant-Supper is of the same type. Jesus "covenants" (διατίθεμαι) the "kingdom" which his Father has "covenanted" to him. It is the kingdom of "David"; for the reference to the "thrones of judgment" shows that Ps. 122:5 is in mind. Those who have endured with him are to reign with him (*cf.* II Tim. 2:12). "Scattered" now, and persecuted, they will be "gathered" as God's "elect." All these features are emphasized in the further course of the Lukan account; but of the Pauline conception of a communion with the Lord's death there is no more trace than in the *Didaché.* At the utmost the utterance over the bread "This is my body" might be said to imply it. But in the absence of the phrase added by Mark "Eat ye all of it" one may well query whether the symbolism intended is not more nearly represented by the liturgy of the *Didaché* than by Paul. Reunion in the kingdom is the theme: "Ye shall eat and drink at my table in my kingdom." In such a connection the Strife as to Who should be Greatest (verses 24-27) seems less incongruous. But can the Jewish-Christian

[15] *Cf.* Jn. 15:1-8. "Cleansing" (verse 2) is not by sacrificial atonement (Mt. 26:28) but "by water and the word" (Eph. 5:26). A similar warning against a magical interpretation of the Supper appears in the discourse on Bread from Heaven in Capernaum (Jn. 6:41-63).

rite of Thanksgiving for the "kingdom of David" be considered *later* than the Pauline?

When the Lukan account of the Institution of the New Covenant is read by and for itself, without that tacit importation of outside testimony which it is so difficult even for the most critical interpreter to escape, the perception comes with almost startling effect that the doctrine which to Paul was the very essence of the rite is *totally absent.* The Supper is *not* a memorial of "the Lord's death." The elements are *not* tokens of his body and blood "given on behalf of the many." Forgiveness of sins plays *no* part in the matter. Christ is *not* a new "Passover sacrificed for us." By eating and drinking the bread and wine disciples do *not* commemorate and participate in his sacrificial death. They simply express their faith in the greater feast of Redemption which they will celebrate with him in the kingdom covenanted by his Father. Surely it is no wonder that transcribers of the Lukan text earlier than 150 (for Justin in his *First Apology,* lxvi. 3 already quotes this emended form) should have felt it necessary to insert Paul's version of the story. The *a* text borrows this practically verbatim from I Cor. 11: 24 f., interpolating it after the words "This is my body" in verse 19. What Mark has done is in effect the same. It is impossible to place side by side the true text of Lk. 22: 14-38 and Mk. 14: 17-25, reading each by and for itself, without seeing that Mark has "Paulinized" the story.

But this is not all. There is unmistakable *literary* dependence, and the priority is unequivocally on the side of the Special Source. Mark is here secondary. Such expressions as "This is my blood of the Covenant, which is shed on behalf of the many" belong to the literature of the Pauline and later Epistles (*cf.* Heb. 10: 29; 13: 20, etc.), and there are other marks of dependence.[16] Moreover apart from the immediate words of institution, where this relation appears indisputable, continual indications of the same relation of dependence appear in the context. Thus in Mk. 14: 21=Lk. 22: 22 the "predetermination" (ὡρισμένον; *cf.* Acts 2: 23) of Messiah's death is not distinguished from its "prediction." Accordingly Mark declares that "The Son of Man goeth, even as (καθώς) it is written of him." In the Special Source, whose very essence is the doctrine of the suffering Servant, and which constantly reiterates the Isaian predictions "How that it was needful that the Christ should suffer," even so general a statement as this might be intelligible, especially as reference is made almost immediately after

[16] Note the increased urgency against Judas, and the use of Ps. 41: 9 in verse 18. In verse 21 we have the phrase of *Eth. Enoch,* xxxviii. 2.

(Lk. 22:37) to the fulfilment of the Scripture "He was reckoned with transgressors" (Is. 53:12). But Mark has scarcely a trace of reference to these prophecies. Where faint traces appear they either have the appearance of misplaced glosses (9:12b), or are unintelligible (14:49b).[17] Only on the supposition that he is reflecting some fuller presentation of the doctrine of the suffering Servant is it possible to understand Mark's veiled and disconnected allusions.[18]

Almost exactly the same characterization would apply to the references of Paul to the same doctrine. Paul never directly appeals to the prophecy of Is. 53, though repeatedly (*e.g.,* Rom. 4:25-5:7; Phil. 2:5-11) one can detect it in the background of his thought. Fortunately Paul states explicitly that the doctrine was "received" by him from his predecessors in the gospel, among whom Peter stands preëminent. It is in fact fundamental in "Petrine" tradition (I Pet. 2:22-24; *Preaching of Peter,* Fragm. 9, "But we, opening the books of the prophets which we had, found . . . how all these things were written which it was needful for him to suffer"). The relation of Mark to this element of Petrine tradition is secondary and remote.

On the other hand the Special Source also has its own features of historical inferiority, particularly in the connected narrative. Its version of the Strife for Precedence (Lk. 22:24-27; *cf.* Mk. 10:42-45) cannot historically stand in its present position, whether this setting be due to Luke or to the author of the source. A quarrel on such grounds may have logical connection but is hard to credit psychologically as a sequel to the announcement of the Betrayal. Also the coupler-verse (27) which connects it with the subsequent context indicates that something else preceded, perhaps in the nature of the foot-washing (Jn. 13:3-11; but *cf.* I Pt. 5:5). Jesus has done nothing to justify the phrase "I stand among you (who recline at table) in the position of a servant" (ἀνακείμενος, διακονῶν). This material, as we know, is paralleled elsewhere by Mark (Mk. 9:33-35=10:41-45). Whether Luke or his source be responsible for its insertion here we have only to remove it to see that the remainder continues the original theme. What follows gives in fact the very

[17] The Servant doctrine appears in the two kindred verses Mk. 10:45 and 14:24. But the phrase "for the many" is not distinctively Isaian (Moses at Horeb offering his life "for the justification (*zechuth*) of the many" is a favorite rabbinic theme). In both these instances also there is independent reason for regarding Mark as secondary.

[18] Among such may probably be reckoned the use of παραδιδόναι instead of προδιδόναι in all references to the Betrayal. The expression is from Is. 53:12 LXX, though Mark fails to quote.

words of institution of the New Covenant according to a formula which seems to be reflected in the ancient liturgy quoted in II Tim. 2:11:

If we die with him, we shall also live with him:
If we suffer, we shall also reign with him:
If we shall deny him, he also will deny us:
If we are faithless, he abideth faithful;
For he cannot deny himself.

The material of the Special Source here falls into three parts, only the first two of which have anything to correspond even remotely with Mark.

Lk. 22:28-34, 35-38.

28 Ye are they that have endured with me throughout my trials; 29 and I for my part covenant (διατίθεμαι) unto you a kingdom, even as my Father hath covenanted unto me; 30 That ye shall eat (ἔσθητε) and drink at my table in my kingdom; and ye shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

31 Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath asked and obtained leave to sift you like wheat. 32 But I have made entreaty on thy behalf that thy faith may not give out. And thou, when once thou art restored, establish thy brethren. 33 And he said, Lord, with thee I am ready to go even unto prison and death. 34 But he said, I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day till thou hast thrice denied that thou knowest me.

Mk. 14:26-31.

(Combined in Mt. 19:28 with Mk. 10:28 ff. in Matthean phraseology: 28 Verily I say unto you, that ye who have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.)

26 And when they had sung the [Passover] hymn they went out to the Mount of Olives.

27 And Jesus saith to them: All of you will be stumbled: for it is written [Zech. 13:7]: I will smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered. 28 But after I am raised up I will go before you into Galilee. 29 But Peter said to him, Though all should be stumbled yet will not I. 30 And Jesus saith to him, Verily I say unto thee that thou today, this same night, before the cock shall have crowed twice wilt deny me thrice. 31 But he spake the more vehemently. Though I should die with thee, I will never deny thee. Likewise also said they all.

As regards the first of these paragraphs it is probably needless to prove the priority of the Lukan form, since the material is clearly derived from the Second Source. This appears not merely from its duplication in Mt. 19:28, where all but the last two clauses is Matthean, but from the recurrence again of the peculiar spelling

ἔσθω for ἐσθίω which we have observed already in Q.[19] The logion is manifestly that of the Institution of the New Covenant, proving that this Source carried down the story to the passion itself. The phraseology and conceptions (the messianic banquet, sitting at the king's table, II Sam. 9:7, the "thrones of the house of David," Ps. 122:5) are strongly Jewish. We may compare the Semitism "desire with desire" of verse 15, and "Satan" of verse 31.

The second paragraph is of utmost importance for our knowledge of the sequel as related in this source; for the Lukan source forecasts not only the scattering of the flock (here a "sifting of Satan" in allusion to Job 1:9-12, for which Mark substitutes a fulfilment of Zech. 13:7) but a rallying of them after the catastrophe. *The rallying is not as in Mark through an appearance of Jesus in Galilee, but through Peter, who thus becomes the founder of the resurrection faith* (*cf.* Mt. 14:28-33 and 16:17-19). From the testimony of Paul (I Cor. 15:5), and a subsequent allusion of the Special Source (Lk. 24:34) we know that such was the actual course of events. Peter *did* become the living stone on which the Church was built. But Mark substitutes another version of the origin of the faith, in which the leading part is no longer taken by Peter, but by Jesus in person.

It is true that the actual carrying out of this predicted rallying of the flock by Jesus in Galilee fails to be related in Mark, on account of the mutilated condition in which this Gospel has come down to us. But enough remains in 15:40-16:8 to show what the Roman evangelist substituted for the "manifestation to Peter" (Gal. 2:7 f.). This substitution itself is the most probable cause of the mutilation; for had it been due to mere accident it is incredible that the gap should not have been filled out in better agreement with the primitive tradition.

Two traditions are here at variance. The mutilated Markan Resurrection Story, centering on the women's report of the Empty Tomb, has become basic for the canonical Gospels in spite of the fact that it is completely ignored by Paul, and is out of gear with his apostolic epitome of the proofs. For the record of I Cor. 15:1-11 is given as no mere personal report made by Paul, but as the original common gospel, the account given by all the witnesses, with Paul or before him, "whether it were I or they." Yet it has been superseded! No fact in the whole history of gospel transmission is of such pregnant significance for the critic as this substitution. No phenomenon in primitive Christian literature presents a problem more worthy of his study for its meaning and implica-

[19] Above, p. 156.

tions than this displacement through a story of women who found the tomb empty, and received a message from angels for "the disciples and Peter," of the apostolic Resurrection Gospel of how the risen Lord "appeared to Peter," and "afterward (εἶτα) to the Twelve." Only in Luke have we some remaining traces of the Manifestation to Peter. Here, then, the Lukan Special Source represents the underlying authentic tradition; whereas the Markan substitute is relatively late, anti-Jewish, and *post-apostolic*. To this strange substitution, its purpose, occasion, sources, and probable date, we must recur at a later stage of our enquiry. For the present the relation of the Passion story of Mark to this Special Source of Luke must continue to hold our attention.

One can feel less confidence that the Lukan form of Peter's Protest (verses 33 f.) is really from the Special Source. Its phraseology differs widely from the Markan, and there are many peculiarities of the story of the Denial, to which the Protest leads up, which Luke does not owe to Mark, such as the ministering angel, the sweat dropping like blood (verses 43 f. β text), and the healing of the wound of the high priest's servant (verse 51). These and later additions such as the Citation before Herod (23:6-16) easily prove that Luke is following a non-Markan source, even though in several cases it be Mark who displays the greater originality and authenticity in this part of his narrative. It might also be taken as suggestive of difference in source that whereas in Lk. 22:31 Jesus addresses Peter as "Simon," in verse 34 he addresses him as "Peter."

On the other hand the Lukan narrative is historically preferable in the form of the prediction in verse 34 ("before the cock crow"), in the omission of the second and third coming to the sleeping disciples (Mk. 14:39-42), in denying to the kiss of Judas the character of a sign of identification given it by Mark, and especially in its description of the mockery of Jesus in the atrium of the high priest's house. In the Lukan source the vulgar abuse is inflicted by a posse of slaves, who hold Jesus in detention until morning beside the fire they have kindled (Lk. 22:54 f., 63 f.). Mark introduces at this point an extraordinary replica of the Trial before Pilate (14:59-66=15:1-5), so that the whole Sanhedrin assembles in the middle of the night (an illegal time), needlessly takes upon itself the odium of an official condemnation of Jesus to death on the ground of blasphemy in claiming to be the Son of God, then disperses, then reassembles in the morning, all for the purpose of securing an execution which they know cannot be had on these grounds, but which they know *can* be obtained, and *is* obtained without any of this dreaded publicity, by merely handing over the

prisoner to Pilate as an agitator. To crown this aggregation of improbabilities Mark ascribes the abuse of the prisoner to the members of the Sanhedrin (!). At least the insertion of verses 55-64 has this effect, though the true remedy is easily seen to be the removal of the paragraph as a composition by the hand of Mark himself. Once the intrusive verses are removed the story takes the same simple and credible form as in the Lukan source (Lk. 22:63-65).

A further paragraph peculiar to Luke follows directly on the Protest of Peter, and leads up to the story of the arrest of Jesus and wounding of the high priest's servant. Lk. 22:35-38 has the further interesting characteristic that it connects with the Q material both in retrospect and prospect. Moreover the retrospect is not of Luke's creation, for it involves the blunder that words referred to here as uttered to the Twelve (verse 35) have been incorporated by Luke in his Discourse to the Seventy (Lk. 10:4= Mt. 10:9 f.). It predicts a going forth of the Twelve as sheep in the midst of wolves. Jesus' condemnation as a "transgressor," which only fulfils the Scripture (Is. 53:12), will be the signal for the storm of bitter violence to break upon their heads. If any now have two garments he would better use one to buy himself a sword. Intrinsically, and on authority (so far as it may serve) of Jn. 15:20-16:14, we should take this to be the original location of the Warning of Persecution and Promise of the Paraclete, Lk. 12:4-9, 11 f.=Mt. 10:16-33. It would give added significance to the parallel in the "faithful saying" from I Tim. 2:11 concerning Confession and Denial. But we must limit ourselves to the case in hand. The inference is not unwarranted that the Second Source is here still flowing, and that it included even Jesus' parting words after the supper, warning of persecution, but with assurance of the Spirit's help and of Confession before the Heavenly Judgment-seat for those who should confess Christ before men. Some of this material we have found incorporated by Mark in the Eschatological Discourse. The question naturally arises whether its intrinsic bearing and the evidence of the Fourth Gospel do not warrant us in holding that its earlier and more authentic setting was at the point where we find this introductory utterance in the Special Source of Luke.

One cannot deal fairly with these two versions of the Night of Betrayal without recognizing that now Mark, now the Lukan source has the better claim to represent authentic Petrine tradition. The trait of the young man who fled naked (Mk. 15:50-52) is certainly based on authentic tradition, though omitted by both later evangelists. The scattering to Galilee, so carefully cancelled by Luke, is

almost certainly historical. Luke's own material implies it (Lk. 24: 36-43; *cf.* Jn. 21: 9-13). Unfortunately we cannot say whether its preservation is solely due to Mark or not. On the other hand the superiority of the Special Source in several features is also unmistakable. Perhaps the phenomena would be best explained if this Source were assumed to be the basis on which the Markan narrative has been constructed—with the aid of direct Petrine tradition as a corrective. As in other instances we note the Pauline influence in the recasting of the Institution of the New Covenant, so that the sacred elements are made something more than mere tokens of the heavenly banquet. We now find the doctrine of vicarious atonement explicitly brought in by Mark, through an addition after the Thanksgiving over the Cup. Here the words are inserted: "And he said unto them 'This is my blood of the Covenant, which is shed on behalf of many' " (Mk. 14: 24; *cf.* 10: 45). We also note the use of Scripture (Zech. 13: 7) in Mark's reconstruction of the Prediction of Sifting by Satan, though in this verse (14: 27) there is wide divergence from the LXX. Ps. 110: 1 and Dan. 7: 11, classic proof-texts for this evangelist, are combined in his scene of the Trial before the Sanhedrin (14: 62).

CHAPTER XV

WHY MARK IS INCOMPLETE

We have seen reason to connect the fragmentary state in which the ending of Mark has come down to us with the singularity of its extraordinary departure from the primitive apostolic resurrection story on the one side, and from the implications of the Lukan source on the other. Originally it is certain that the common gospel was as Paul has summarized it in I Cor. 15:1-11. Here the first manifestation of the risen Christ is to Peter; where, or how long after the crucifixion, Paul does not state. For the rising "on the third day," necessarily antecedent to the manifestations, is an inference from "Scripture" (probably Lev. 23:5-11; *cf.* I Cor. 5:7; 15:20, and *Paschal Chronicle* as above, p. 173). It was admitted to be undatable.[1] "Afterward" (εἶτα) and next in order, came a manifestation to "the Twelve," probably in the same locality as the appearance to Peter and in direct causal connection with it,[2] but not on the same occasion. The difference from the representation in Jn. 21, in the closing verses of *Ev. Petri,* in *Doctrina Petri ap.* Ignatius *ad Smyrn.* iii., and in Lk. 24:36-43, as well as from the apparent implication of Mk. 16:7, should not be overlooked. In all of these "Peter and his company" (οἱ περὶ Πέτρον) receive the manifestation together. In Lk. 24:34, which must be derived from a source independent of verses 36 ff., since the latter section ignores the previous manifestation (*cf.* verse 41 with 33 f.), the Pauline representation is implied. Peter's experience is individual and personal, though the actual story of the manifestation has disappeared. It is also implied in the prophetic utterance of Jesus Lk. 22:32, of which we have spoken; and if (as conjectured in the *Commentary,* p. 83) Mt. 14:28-31 gives symbolic expression to the same "turning again" of Simon, this also must be reckoned in the same group. We distinguish accordingly from all subsequent forms a line of tradition of the highest possible authenticity, by which the cardinal event in the history of the faith was a *separate* appearance to Peter. The Markan merging of this appearance with that which according to Paul came

1 So Dionysius *ad Basilidem* ap. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*

2 According to Gal. 2:7 f. Peter received from the risen Lord at this time "an apostleship *to the circumcision.*" This implies reconstitution of the disciple group; *cf.* Lk. 22:32; Mt. 14:32 f.; 16:17 f.; Jn. 21:1-6.

"next" to form a joint manifestation to "Peter and the rest" must be regarded as a secondary development, however early.

The next appearance of the series recorded by Paul was to "above five hundred brethren at once," an occurrence which some decline to identify with the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost, on the ground that in Acts 2 nothing is said of a manifestation of "the Lord." The manifestation must be supposed nevertheless to have occurred at or near Jerusalem; not so much because Galilee could not have furnished at so early a date the requisite gathering of believers, as because Paul knows the proportion of those who "remain" to those who have "fallen asleep." This knowledge he could not well have had in the case of the Galilean church.

A second group is formed in the Pauline list by the last two appearances antecedent to Paul's own. "Afterward (ἔπειτα) he appeared to James; next (εἶτα) to all the apostles," under which term we should perhaps include more than the original Twelve. The *Gospel according to the Hebrews,* which connects its 'sacred story' of Easter ritual ("And the Lord said, 'Bring a table and bread,'" etc.) with an original appearance to James, at Jerusalem, who had fasted since drinking "the cup of the Lord,"[3] shows that this line of tradition also had an independent origin. Already in Paul's time these two groups were practically coalescent. Jerusalem according to the *Ev. Hebr.* (fragm. 18 *ap.* Preuschen) was the place of the appearance to James; the appointment of "all the apostles" will have been its outcome. But we need concern ourselves only with the two forms of the Petrine tradition, noting that the more authentic and earlier form divides the occurrences into two separate appearances "to Cephas, *then* to the Twelve"; whereas the later form, which also, like the *Ev. Hebr.,* brings in the trait of "eating together" (Lk. 24:41 f.; Jn. 21:9-13; Acts 1:4; 10:41), ignores the individual and primary appearance to Peter. The two accounts stand side by side in Lk. 24:13-35 and 36-43; for in verses 33-35 "the eleven" are already convinced by the testimony of Peter; whereas in verses 36-43 they are still without an intimation of the resurrection until brought slowly to belief by Jesus' own appearance. It is not the earlier and more authentic form which is presupposed in Mk. 14:27 f. and 16:7, but the later.

A more striking discrepancy between the forms of the resurrection tradition has reference to the locality. The Lukan representation in both forms, as they now stand,[4] insists upon limiting the

[3] Probably we should read "since the Lord had drunk the cup."

[4] There is some suggestion of the scene in Galilee at the shore of the lake depicted in Jn. 21:1 ff. and *Ev. Petri,* in Luke 24:42 f. ("they gave him a

manifestations to Jerusalem and its immediate vicinity. To meet this conception Luke in 24:6 even changes the language of Mk. 16:7 from "He goeth before you into Galilee, there shall ye see him, as he told you" to "He is risen; remember how he *told you while he was yet in Galilee.*" Matthew, true to his method of close adherence to the passion story of Mark, follows Mark down to the end of the authentic text, and thence completes the story in accordance with the implications, only altering the statement of Mk. 16:8 that the women "said nothing to any man because they were afraid" to "ran with fear and great joy to bring his disciples word." Next follows a duplicate. Mt. 28:9 f. is another adjustment of the story of the Women at the Sepulchre to the Appearance to Peter and the Eleven in Galilee, making the women really deliver the message. Verses 16-20 complete the story by reporting the final Appearance to the Twelve and the Apostolic Commission. Thus Matthew has no new material to add. He merely carries out (aided in vers. 9 f. by a previous attempt of the same nature) what was implied in Mark's story. The so-called Shorter Appendix of Mark,

> And they (the women) briefly reported all things commanded them to Peter and his company. And after these things Jesus himself appeared to them, and from the East even to the West sent forth by them the holy and incorruptible proclamation of eternal salvation

is a construction of precisely similar character, an editorial piecing-out of Mark's deficiency along the stereotyped line of the Galilean tradition. Jerusalem has no manifestations save the directions given to the women that Jesus will meet "Peter and his company" in Galilee. Matthew is still Galilean in its main resurrection story.

The Longer Appendix (Mk. 16:9-20) pursues a different line. It adjusts the Gospel to the Lukan tradition with its many appearances, all in Jerusalem and vicinity, including among the rest the appearance to Mary Magdalen from Jn. 20:11-18. Its author knew the story of Jn. 20:11-18, perhaps all the Fourth Gospel except the Appendix. But if he knew the story of the appearance to "Peter and his company" at the Lake of Galilee in Jn. 21 he deliberately omits it. He follows the rival, Jerusalem tradition. Thus the two second-century appendices to Mark attempt each to bring the mutilated Gospel into line with a different tradition, the one locating the appearances exclusively in Galilee, the other locating them exclusively in Jerusalem and its environs. As usual the latest form of all is combination. The manuscripts which place the shorter

piece of a broiled fish, and he took it and ate before them"). If Galilee was the original scene of the story Luke has obliterated the reference.

and longer endings side by side produce a result equivalent to the placing of the Appendix to John immediately after the appearances of Jn. 20, in spite of the unreconciled differences. In Ch. 20 Jesus appears to the disciples, overcomes their doubts, and gives them their Apostolic Commission, Peter included. With 21:1 ff. the reader is suddenly transported back to a point where the disciples are in Galilee, without their commission, and without the resurrection faith. The process begins therefore *de novo* with the manifestation, the breaking of fast, and the Apostolic Commission, in which special parts are now assigned to Peter and the Beloved Disciple.

All these phenomena of later adjustment imperfectly carried out show clearly that the Markan-Matthean type of resurrection gospel was not easily accommodated to the Lukan type, with its appearances limited to Jerusalem. Ultimately both types were combined, leaving the major tasks of adjustment to the harmonizer. The disappearance of the original ending of Mark belongs probably to this period of rivalry; for the two methods of piecing-out still reflect the difference. The disappearance of the original ending was not due, however, to the lack of exemplars, but rather to their too great abundance. It disappeared for the same reason that the account of how "the Lord appeared to Simon" has disappeared. There were so many improved versions, each requiring to be harmonized with some other, that in the end nothing else but 'improved' versions was left. The blank column left by the scribe of Vaticanus, our oldest manuscript, attests not his belief that the Gospel he was copying ended at this point; for in that case he would have used the blank space (as he does elsewhere) to begin the next Gospel. It attests, on the contrary, his perplexity as to which one of several rival endings should be adopted. Two centuries before the writing of Vaticanus, the same perplexity was felt, and perhaps even more keenly. The Lukan ending shows that the Markan account was far from satisfactory to Antiochian readers in its account of how the risen Lord was manifested to "Peter and they that were with him" in Galilee. And there was good reason. In spite of the reiteration with improvements in Matthew, Paul's statements show that even the original Mark cannot have been generally accepted. Once more this evangelist had been more Pauline than Paul. He had eliminated the "manifestation to Peter" by combining it with its sequel. The disappearance of Mark's resurrection story in view of opposition is not, then, so inexplicable that we need invoke the "chapter of accidents." The original ending of Mark was really "improved" out of existence. The course of "improvement" unfortunately did

not lead back toward the truly apostolic record of I Cor. 15:1-11, but forward toward Matthew.

The question with which we are now concerned is the composition of Mark's story of the crucifixion and resurrection, to see what relation it bears to earlier accounts. For we have already seen that it varies from the apostolic resurrection gospel in its account of how the tide was turned from despair to faith, and we may reasonably infer from previous indications of its attitude toward the Jerusalem church-leaders that the nature of its account of Peter's restoration and the reconstitution of the Twelve made it unacceptable to later believers. It is probably reflected in *Ev. Petri* (end) and Jn. 21:1-14. But just as Luke has absorbed the few remaining traces of the Galilean tradition into his Jerusalem version, so the Markan was eventually absorbed. Matthew superseded it for followers of Galilean tradition, Luke for those who preferred that of Jerusalem.

For the contradiction between the Jerusalem form of the resurrection gospel represented in Luke, Jn. 1-20, and the Longer Ending of Mark on the one side, and the Galilean, represented in Mark, Matthew, Jn. 21, the *Ev. Petri,* and the Shorter Ending on the other, is only a later stage of a contradiction already apparent (as we have seen)[5] between the sources of Luke. On the one side stood a Jerusalem tradition, largely based on the Isaian prophecy of the suffering Servant, wherein Peter was a central figure, but wherein also a large place was given to the women of the company. This we easily identify with the Special Source. It is known to us by similar traits in earlier portions of Luke, and is used by this evangelist in preference to Mark throughout the passion story. As we have had repeated occasion to note, the Lukan Special Source is not unknown to Mark, though his use of it is far less docile than Luke's. This source, in a form which we may designate A, agrees with Paul in presupposing an appearance to Peter individually as the turning point in the history of the faith. The manifestation to Peter is predicted in Lk. 22:32 and referred to as a past event in 24:34, though the actual story of it has been cancelled so that its scene (Jerusalem? Galilee?) cannot be determined. The main portion of Lk. 24, as of the preceding chapters, is derived from source A, with only occasional insertions from Mark. But Luke has also other non-Markan material. Over against A stands a later form of the tradition (source B), from which a portion is inserted almost regardless of its incongruity with the context in 24:36-43. The relation here of A to B is similar to that between the two stories in Acts of the citing of Peter and John before the

[5] Above, p. 188.

authorities (Acts 3:1-4:31=5:12-42). Both make the figure of Peter central, but the later parallel in both cases introduces legendary embellishments. B was at least closely parallel to A, perhaps only a later, expanded edition of it. Our problem is to determine the relation of Mark to these two Lukan sources, both of which purport to tell the story of Peter.[6]

The connection of the later Lukan source (B) with the mass of later resurrection narratives of the Galilean type hardly needs demonstration. It is practically identical with the Petrine tradition quoted by Ignatius, which we have the excellent authority of Origen for ascribing to the *Doctrina Petri.*[7] It is also very nearly related to the resurrection appearance to Peter and a group including "Levi the son of Alphaeus" (Mk. 2:14) at the Sea of Galilee, forming the close of the Akhmim fragment of the *Ev. Petri:*

xiv. 58. Now it was the last of the days of Unleavened Bread, and many were returning to their homes, the feast being over. 59 But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, were mourning and grieving; and each one, grieved at what had taken place, departed to his own home. 60 But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew my brother, taking our nets, went away unto the sea. And there was with us Levi, the son of Alphaeus, whom the Lord . . .

This is obviously constructed on the basis of our Mark. Whether the author still possessed the original ending of Mark is more than doubtful. The only question is how much of actual survival of this original ending we may credit to him, in oral or written form, in addition to his own reconstructive powers. B may, or may not, have employed Mark.

In the same category with the Ignatian fragment must be placed the Appendix to John, also using the same scenes of manifestation to Peter and others at the Sea of Galilee, restoration to the faith and work of the apostleship, and Great Commission. Also, perhaps from the source B, the story of the Miraculous Draft of Fishes (Lk. 5:4-9); for critics point out that this contains an apparent reference to the Denial (ver. 8) and an application intended to prepare the way for the Mission to the Gentiles (vers. 5-7). If so Luke has found an earlier place for this symbolic miracle, where it would

[6] In the case of Lk. 24:36-43 the position of Peter has to be inferred from the affinity of the section with the fragment of *Doctrina Petri* in Ignatius *ad Smyrn.* iii., and with the Shorter Ending. In both these Jesus appears to "Peter and his company" (οἱ περὶ Πέτρον).

[7] Zahn is disposed to identify the *Doctrina,* from which according to Origen (*de princ. pref.* 8, Delarue I, 47) Ignatius draws, with the *Kerygma Petri.* Against this stands the long and important fragment 9 (ap. Preuschen, *Antil.* p. 54) very closely related to the source A (Lk. 24:44-46). Jerome's statement of the derivation of the fragment from the *Ev. Hebr.* is unreliable.

not contradict the Jerusalem tradition, combining it with Mk. 1: 16 ff.

All these various forms of the Galilean tradition of the Resurrection Appearances are later than Mark and in most cases can be proved to rest upon it, either with or without direct knowledge of the original ending. We should judge of them as we judge of the Shorter Ending, or of Mt. 28:9 f., 16-20. They represent the original ending of Mark in its various later adaptations, with more or less of legendary accretion. Our only means of restoring that original ending is a comparison and sifting of the entire group, leaving a residual record of which certainly the scene was the Sea of Galilee, the manifestation being given to "Peter and his company." In the earliest form this manifestation was entirely without communication from the women (*Ev. Petri* xiv. 58; Mk. 16:8). Later forms (*e.g.*, Mt. 28:9 f.) attempt to bring together the two unrelated manifestations by reëstablishing communication between the women and the disciples.

It remains, then, to turn back to the mutilated story of Mark and ask what were its possible sources, whence the material appears to be derived, why, and at what period, it may be supposed to have been put together in its present form.

As long as it could be assumed that Luke in his story of the Cross and Resurrection was building on a single non-Markan source there could be but one explanation of the phenomena of mingled superiority and inferiority to Mark presented by the composition. It had to be assumed (and is in fact assumed by critics) that the historical superiorities of Luke were due simply to the personal judgment and acumen of this evangelist; whereas the inferiorities and secondary developments were ascribed to his Special Source. Since several of these later developments appeared to be paralleled in Mark, the Special Source as a whole was assigned to a position of dependence as respects Mark, and valued and dated accordingly.

But as we have just seen, the non-Markan material of Luke, here as in the Petrine narrative of Acts, consists of more than a single strand. Source B, from which Luke derives the relatively late and legendary story of the manifestation to Peter and his company and their eating together in 24:36-43, follows the Markan tradition, even (probably) as regards the location of the manifestation in Galilee.[8] B may well be dependent on Mark, and the source of some

[8] Note the "broiled fish" of verse 42, and compare Jn. 21:9. On the other hand A introduced (as we shall see) the story of the Women at the Sepulchre (Lk. 24:22-24). It implies, however (24:34), that Peter at least was not in company with the Jerusalem group.

of the elements of historical inferiority observed in Luke's narrative. Other elements which show no traces of dependence on Mark, even if historically inferior, may be derived from source A. For while we have seen reason to regard source A as known to Mark, and often more historically reliable, we have no right to assume that historical superiority was always on one side. We cannot even assume that source B is anything more than source A in an expanded form employed by Luke, which had received supplements and additions beyond its content as employed by Mark and Matthew. Such a solution is in fact suggested by the absence of the Woes from the Beatitudes in Matthew (Lk. 6:20-26; *cf.* Mt. 5:1-12); by the absence of the story of the Widow of Nain (Lk. 7:11-17) from the Matthean form of the section on the Works of the Christ (Lk. 7:18-35=Mt. 11:2-19); by the amplified Lukan form of the parable of the Repentant Younger Son (Lk. 15:11-32; *cf.* Mt. 21:28-32), or by the (expanded?) story of the Ten Lepers (Lk. 17:12-19; *cf.* Mk. 1:40-45). At least in its earlier form (A) the Special Source of Luke seems to have been known to Mark as well as to Matthew. Yet in Luke, who draws his material for the Passion story mainly from the Special Source, and not (like Matthew) from Mark, we find admixtures (whether made by Luke himself or by some predecessor) from the later (B) form of this source, as well as some admixture from Mark. Primary and secondary elements are demonstrably present in the material taken by Luke from his Special Source (*cf.* Lk. 24:34 with ver. 41), and must be distinguished. Only after such discrimination can we hope to determine the relation of Mark to elements A and B.

Element A of the Special Source, detailed as it is in the surviving sections, is incomplete. Luke has omitted the Manifestation to Peter referred to in verse 34. He has also omitted (according to the β text) the visit to the sepulchre of "certain of our company" to verify the report of the women referred to in verse 24. The α text notices this omission and supplies it on the basis of Jn. 20:1-10, setting "Peter" in place of the "certain ones." This, however, cannot have been the original meaning. In the source (verse 34) Peter had not been in the company. The α text here represents the later form of the tradition (B). Fortunately the A element is explicit in describing the experience of the women (22 f.), placing beyond doubt its inclusion of the preceding narrative back to the point where the women appear upon the scene (23-49). In this earlier portion of A the parallelism with Mk. 15:40-16:8 is so close as to make literary dependence on one side or the other an unavoidable conclusion. But the A account of resurrection appearances in Jerusalem is obviously

not at all dependent on Mark. Have we any reason to suppose it so in its earlier narrative? Have we not on the contrary indications of no small weight that Mark is everywhere dependent on A? For a positive answer to this question we must look once more at Mark's Passion story.

Mark's account of the ministry concludes as it had begun. In 15:39 the heathen centurion, impressed by we know not what in the manner of Jesus' death,[9] bears witness in phraseology appropriate in a heathen's mouth to the superhuman nature of the victim: "Truly this man was a Son of God." One can imagine the impressivenesss of this close of the readings for the celebration of Good Friday in the primitive Church. It makes a full stop.

What follows in Mk. 15:42 ff. marks a new beginning and stands connected with the story of the resurrection. We have a new group of *dramatis personae* as unknown to Mark elsewhere as to the resurrection gospel of Paul. It includes a number of women and a noble counsellor from Ramathaim, one who "waited for the kingdom of God." The centre of the scene is Joseph's rock-hewn sepulchre. An entire resurrection gospel would seem once to have rested on this basis, though nothing now remains of this save an undelivered messsage from an angel to the Twelve. In contrast Paul's only mention of entombment is to compare Christ's burial to the falling of the grain of wheat into the ground that it may bear more fruit. The testimony of the women, ignored by Paul, anticipates here even that of the Apostles and Peter. A secondary interest concerns the sacred "place where the Lord lay." The angel bids men view the spot, as if inviting to a shrine of pilgrimage.

Certainly this narrative cannot be from Paul, whose interest was not in the fate of the body of Jesus. Neither is it from Peter, who had a resurrection gospel of his own not inferior to Paul's. It stands wholly apart, coming apparently from a period relatively late; for Mark explains its present novelty by the silence of the witnesses until now. The women received a commission to report the matter, but failed to deliver it. "They said nothing to any man, for they were afraid." By common consent this is a Jerusalem tradition, centred upon Jerusalem's holy place (16:6), which must have come to Mark from sources independent of Peter and Paul. Are there any further indications whence the story is drawn?

The women disciples, suddenly introduced at this point in Mark for the part they are to play in the immediate sequel, just as "the

[9] Later texts insert κράξας, or οὕτως κράξας to supply a reason. Matthew brings in "the earthquake and (other) occurrences," Luke "what had happened" (τὸ γενόμενον). There seems to be a gap in Mark.

scribes which came down from Jerusalem'' are brought in without explanation in 3 : 22, are not unknown to the Lukan Special Source. They are the same who appeared long since in Galilee (Lk. 8 : 1-3) as members of the company of disciples who ''ministered to [Jesus] of their substance.'' They still belonged to it in Jerusalem, and had followed weeping to Calvary (23 : 27). They form part of it still in Acts 1 : 14. In Mk. 15 : 40, 47 ; 16 : 1 there is curious vacillation as to the names of these female witnesses, the manuscripts varying as well as the verses from one another. In Lk. 24 : 10 there is no variation of text, and the names are not unknown. ''Mary Magdalen'' and ''Joanna'' had both been introduced long before (8 : 2 f.). ''Mary (wife?) of James'' appears now for the first time, but as one of the same well-known group. This group are at home in the Special Source, where the love and loyalty of women form a constant and conspicuous feature of the story. They are strangers in Mark, brought in for their testimony only, and then dismissed. There is here, then, almost certainly, a direct literary connection with the Special Source. Moreover priority is on the side of the Special Source. Mark is dependent.

The following considerations favor priority here on the part of the Special Source, in addition to its connection with Jerusalem and its identification of the women :

(1) It is not Mark but the Special Source which takes an interest in correspondences with the prophecy of the suffering Servant. The story of the counsellor Joseph, ''A good and righteous man,'' in whose tomb new-hewn from the rock they laid the body of Jesus, is usually looked upon as intended to recall the prophecy (Is. 53 : 9). In Mark this significance vanishes. In the Special Source it is recalled (Lk. 24 : 27).

(2) The phraseology of Mark in these sections is that of the Special Source. Passing by the Semitism of Lk. 24 : 4 καὶ ἐγένετο . . . καὶ ἰδού, and some similar peculiarities, we note that in Mk. 15 : 43= Lk. 23 : 51 Joseph is described as ''one that waited for the kingdom of God.'' The term is unknown to Mark, unknown to the New Testament outside the Lukan writings. In the Lukan Special Source it is used to describe the devout element not attached to the body of disciples but in sympathy with their aims (Lk. 2 : 25).

(3) In verses 44 f. Mark adds a proof that Jesus was not unconscious but really dead. Pilate obtains the witness of the centurion before granting the body. This supplement is secondary, a product of apologetic. Possibly its non-appearance in either Matthew or Luke might be explained on the assumption that it is a textual gloss attached after the employment of Mark by Luke and

Matthew, but so early as to have found its way into nearly all existing forms of the text.[10] If, however (as is more probable), it is from the evangelist's own hand it carries with it the entire section, marking the whole as secondary.

(4) In Mark the coming of the women to anoint the body (!) without any means of removing the stone at the door of the tomb, although it was "very great," remains unexplained. In Luke one may at least assume that the women had in view some provision for this contingency. More probably the clauses referring to the spices (23:56a; 24:1b) have been added by the evangelist (Luke) on the basis of Mark, like the similar insertions in his story of the Penitent Harlot (Lk. 7:38b, 46). The women came on the third day "to mourn and lament" according to Oriental custom. Such is the statement of *Ev. Petri* xiii. 52. It may well have been that of the source, though later in *Ev. Petri* it is combined with the Synoptic reference to the spices. The absence of this feature from Mark's first statement of the women's purpose, combined with the difficulties involved in the clauses referred to, make it probable that the whole idea of a belated anointing of the body with its attendant reference to the spices owes its origin as an explanation of the women's presence to Mark. The source (element A) had an entirely adequate explanation without this unimaginable feature.

(5) "Angels" do not belong to the *dramatis personae* of Mark, so far at least as concerns the present world. Mk. 1:13 might be considered an exception, but in this case we have Q material, and the reference to "angels" in the original (Lk. 4:19 f.=Mt. 4:6) which used Ps. 91:11 f. made the mention unavoidable. Hence it is only what we should expect that in Mk. 16:5 the heavenly messenger at the sepulchre clothed in a white garment (*cf.* Mk. 9:3), who is of course really an angel, should be described as "a young man" (νεανίσκος). In the Special Source "angels" regularly perform such functions (Lk. 1:11, 13, 18, 19, 26, 30, 34, 35, 38; 2:9, 10, 13, 15, 21; 16:22; (22:43); Acts 5:19; 7:30; 8:26; 10:3, 7, 22; 11:13; 12:7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 23). The Special Source explicitly designates the messengers at the tomb as "angels" in the immediate sequel (24:23). It is not, therefore, an indication of priority that in Mk. 16:5 the heavenly visitant is not called an "angel." On the contrary the fact that his real nature can be learned only by reference to the parallel shows that priority lies really on the side of the Lukan source.

We may conclude that the Special Source of Luke ran (in its A form) substantially as reproduced in Lk. 23:48-24:35. Only the

[10] In some forms of the Latin verse 45 fails to appear.

portion relating the Manifestation to Peter is missing. Its former presence is plainly shown by the reference in Lk. 24:34. It will have stood at the point where our a texts insert 24:12, closing their insertion with the statement that Peter "departed to his own home" (ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς ἑαυτόν). But at this point we have already in the source (A form) a post-apostolic addition. The writer here links the Witness of the Women with the story of Peter's Turning Again (*cf.* Lk. 22:32), a connection unknown to Paul. At how early a date this new feature was introduced we cannot say. In Mark the women come on the scene, but the part they should have played is no longer traceable. The main action concerns the Manifestation to Peter and the eleven. But so far as this is concerned the women accomplish nothing. Mk. 16:7 reiterates 14:28; but in vain, since the angel's message remains undelivered. This form of the story is surely less original than the Lukan, where the women report to the company (not including Peter), but are disbelieved. From the earliest form of all (I Cor. 15:1-11) the incident of the women was absent altogether.

Critics are justly agreed that the flight of Peter and the eleven to Galilee is an authentic tradition. They usually ascribe the elimination of it to Luke, who would thus simplify his story by cancellation of an inglorious episode. But the cancellation is probably earlier. We may ascribe it to the A element of his Special Source. For here (Lk. 24:13, 34) the Manifestation to Peter has already occurred before the evening of the third day. Galilee is too distant to allow of this. Moreover the author of the Special Source had stronger motives for the cancellation than Luke. The Witness of the Women is a Jerusalem tradition of a type characteristic of this Source (*cf.* 23:27 ff.). It finds room, as it were, for the Galilean tradition under the shelter of Jerusalem. It is, to begin with, the author of the Aramaic Special Source who would be most disposed to introduce a story of this particular type. Secondly, it is clear that connection between this Jerusalem tradition and the original account of the Manifestation to Peter could not be effected without a geographical displacement of the latter. The sepulchre could not be removed to the Sea of Galilee; but "Peter and his company" could be removed to Jerusalem and events consolidated on "the third day." It is the author of the Special Source who had the strongest motive for effecting this change, and it is made in that form of the Lukan story where the women appear (A). In Mark the women lag superfluous on the stage after their proper function is gone, showing Mark's dependence on the older Source. Nevertheless, as we should expect from his real relation to Peter,

it is Mark rather than the author of the Special Source, who is correctly informed as to the time and place of the Manifestation to Peter.

The attempt to combine the two irreconcilable factors has left clear traces in Mark's story. In his report (16:7) the women are given a message impossible for them to deliver, seeing Peter and the eleven were already scattered (14:27). The angel assumes that the group are accessible. The warning of Jesus based on Zech. 13:7 presupposes the other form. We can only infer that the whole Jerusalem episode of Mark, centring as it does on the story of the Women at Joseph's Tomb, forms an erratic block in Mk. 15:40-16:8, a block derived from the A element of Luke's Special Source. The splitting off of the original ending of the Gospel is probably due to the presence of this unassimilable foreign element.

This is not all the evidence for the composite character of the Special Source as employed by Luke and for Mark's dependence on the A element. Moving backward through the Passion story of Mark we find two versions of Jesus' expiring cry. Verses 34-36 maintain that he used the language of Ps. 21:1, and that the soldiers, mistaking its import, offered him a drink of their *posca,* or "vinegar" (Ps. 69:21). Parallel to this stands Lk. 23:36-38 with a different interpretation of the cry based on Ps. 31:5. The original can have had nothing more than appears in Mk. 15:37, paralleled in more Semitic idiom by Lk. 23:46. The source (Lk. 23:46=Mk. 15:37) merely stated that Jesus "cried a great cry." Mk. 15:34-36=Lk. 23:36-38 are rival (though not independent) later attempts to give the purport of the cry, the Lukan quotation from Ps. 31:5 being perhaps supplied by the evangelist (*cf.* Acts 7:59) as an improvement on Mark.

Jesus' expiring cry probably closed the story of the Passion as it stood in the source. Mark makes three additions: (1) an interpretation of the cry (verses 34b-36); (2) a report of the Rending of the Temple Veil (verses 37 f.), perhaps a pragmatized form of the teaching Heb. 6:19; 10:20; (3) the Centurion's Witness (ver. 39). These three additions give no evidence of authentic tradition, nor are they apparently derived from the Lukan source. Schmiedel, it is true, counts the quotation from Ps. 21:1 among his nine "foundation pillars for a truly scientific life of Jesus,"[11] and no

[11] *Encycl. Bibl.,* s.v. "Gospels," vol. II, section 139. In reality Schmiedel's argument might well be reversed. The "forsaking" of the victim, in the sense that no divine deliverance came, had to be admitted. The insertion of the quotation proved that so it had been predicted. The objection is turned into a 'fulfilment.'

critic will deny that as compared with the Lukan quotation from Ps. 31:5 that of Mark from Ps. 21:1 is crude and harsh. But Ps. 21:1 can easily be interpreted in a sense suited to the adoptionist Christology of Mark. In view of *Ev. Petri* v. 19 such would seem to be the intended sense. Certainly the references to the Coming of Elias in verses 35 f. are in line with Markan characteristics. We infer that the Special Source (A form) reported simply the cry, substantially as in Mk. 15:33a, 37. Mark interjects an apocalyptic interpretation of this in 33b-36, using Pss. 21:1 and 69:21. Luke (or the B element) interprets preferably on the basis of Ps. 31:5.

Earlier portions of Mark's Passion story confirm this judgment of interdependence by showing varied results when compared with the Lukan parallels. The more authentic form appears now on one side now on the other, while the Lukan story taken by itself is certainly not uniform but shows an earlier and a later element.

The trial scene interjected by Mark in 14:53-64 between his account of how Peter followed Jesus and his captors into the courtyard of the high priest's house, and its continuation in the Abuse of the Prisoner, which Peter witnesses before his flight (Mk. 14:65-72), has already been adjudged a replica of Lk. 22:66-71 in which all comparisons favor the greater historicity (if not also the priority) of the Lukan form. Either, then, Luke is correcting Mark on general principles, or his better knowledge is derived from some superior source. The latter alternative is not only in itself more probable, but is favored by the fact that it is only in the Lukan form that one can trace the real meaning of Jesus' reply. In Mk. 14:62 Jesus replies outspokenly to the high priest's question "Art thou the Christ?" "I am, and ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power and coming with the clouds of heaven" (*cf.* Mk. 9:1; 12:36). In Lk. 22:66-71 Jesus employs the same non-committal response as in Mark's account of the Trial before Pilate (15:2): "Thou sayest," and this applies only to the title Son of God, the reference to the Son of Man being no longer a prediction that his questioners will witness the Parousia, but only of his own exaltation "from henceforth." The influence of Mark is almost certainly present here, but the proper dating of the trial ("when it was day") and the use of the Jewish formula "ye say"[12] give strong reason for assigning priority to the Lukan Special Source. It is in fact this source which consistently presents Jesus as a "prophet" and traces fulfilments of Isaian prophecies of the Servant in his sufferings. The abuse of the Prisoner by the menials

[12] On "σὺ εἶπας, σὺ λέγεις in the Answer of Jesus" see J. H. Thayer in *Journal of Biblical Literature,* XIII (1894), pp. 44-50.

of Annas turns, accordingly, on his claims to "prophesy" (Mk. 14:65). He is "spat upon" (*cf.* Is. 50:6), and maintains silence before his accusers (14:61; 15:5; *cf.* Is. 53:7 and Acts 8:32). The motive for these data of the report is not apparent in Mark, but in the Special Source they support the argument to identify Jesus with the Isaian Servant.

On the other hand when we pass to Mark's story of the Trial before Pilate (15:1-15) there are at least certain portions of the Lukan narrative which appear to rest upon Mark. It is true that Mark omits to say of what Jesus was accused, so that when Pilate asks "Art thou the King of the Jews?" it suggests to the reader that the idea has just occurred to Pilate independently. No wonder our fourth evangelist (with the Gospel of Mark before him) makes Jesus reply to this question: "Sayest thou this of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me?" (Jn. 18:34). The missing datum appears in Lk. 23:2. But the remedy need not be from the source. It may have been supplied by Luke of his own authority. It would be unsafe to argue from its non-appearance in Mark that Lk. 23:2 is prior and was overlooked by Mark.

More significant is Luke's substitution of a Mockery by Herod and his Soldiers (Lk. 23:4-12) for Mark's account of Mockery by the soldiers of Pilate (15:16-20). Brandt[13] regards the story as legendary. At best it must rest on hearsay. But priority (if there be literary interrelation) must here be assigned to Mark. Increasingly with the advance of Christian apologetics the tendency grew to exculpate Pilate and the Romans at the expense of the Jews and "Herod." On this principle the substitution (if such it be) is on the side of the Lukan source. Hence, too, the "purple" of Mk. 15:17, which Matthew also seems to have regarded as improbable,[14] gives way to a "gorgeous" robe (ἐσθῆτα λαμπράν).

Still more clearly is authenticity on the side of Mark in his account of the crucified thieves. The Lukan story of the Penitent Thief has every characteristic of the homiletic "improvement." It belongs with the series of Lukan penitents, the Penitent Harlot (Lk. 7:36-50), the Repentant Younger Son (15:11-32), the Penitent Publican (18:9-14), and Zacchaeus (19:1-10). Its contrast recalls the Rich Man and Lazarus (16:19-31), the Good Samaritan and the Priests (10:25-37), the Thankful and Unthankful Lepers (17:11-19). It is difficult to suppose that the peremptory exclusion effected by Mk. 15:32 is deliberate. If not, the source as known to Mark did not contain the story of the Penitent Thief.

[13] *Evangelische Geschichte*, 1893, pp. 106-110.

[14] For Mark's πορφύρα Mt. 27:28 substitutes "scarlet" (κοκκίνη).

Thus the complexity of the problem is manifest. First the Lukan material shows greater authenticity, then Mark. And in certain passages the dependence of Mark upon the Lukan source seems an almost unavoidable inference. From such phenomena but one conclusion can be drawn: The source as it appeared in Luke is not in its primitive form. It has undergone elaboration, perhaps admixture of extraneous material, since the time of Mark. It is this later form of the Special Source which we designate B.

Admixture of extraneous material we have already shown in the case of the B form and to such admixture we may probably refer the Mockery by Herod's Soldiers (23:6-12). This is prepared for in 9:9 and alluded to in Acts 4:25-27; but the attitude of Herod here is not that of Lk. 13:31 f., which appears to represent the A form. Moreover the episode interrupts the context. In verses 4 f. Pilate is pleading with "the chief priests and the multitudes." In order to continue from the same point in verse 18 he must again "call together the chief priests and the rulers and the people" (who have in the meantime dispersed) and recapitulate what had previously transpired (13-16; *cf.* 2-4). Phenomena of this kind accompany supplements of foreign origin.

The story of the Penitent Thief (vers. 39-43) also appears quite unknown to Mark, if not dependent on it. We must therefore ascribe it to B. But as already pointed out it has the distinctive manner and interests of the Special Source, Repentance saves the Lowly and Outcast. The phenomenon is paralleled by the failure of many similar sections to appear in Matthew. True we could hardly expect to find traces of the Infancy chapters, or the Penitent Harlot, for Matthew omits also the Widow's Mites and appears particularly prejudiced against the feminism of the Special Source. But it is difficult to explain the non-appearance in Matthew of the Miracle at Nain (Lk. 7:11-17), and the Woes attached in Lk. 6:24-26 after the Beatitudes. Lk. 15:11-32, when compared with the simpler parable of the Two Sons sent into the Vineyard of Mt. 21:28-32, makes the same impression of homiletic "improvement" as the Penitent Thief, and if we may venture on an element only *presupposed*[15] by Mk. 1:40-45, such is also the impression created by the Ten Lepers (17:11-19). It is therefore not as a mere expedient to meet the difficulty of apparent reversal of the relation of priority as between Mark and the Special Source in successive sections that we leave open the possibility of later developments of it in the form employed by Luke. Matthew also, and Mark elsewhere, give independent evidence to the same effect. Certain elaborations of the

[15] See above, p. 158.

Special Source of Luke are probably later than Mark, or at least appear unknown. Its most essential elements are presupposed and often utilized in Mark, though not as in Matthew and Luke.

The foregoing analysis of the material peculiar to Luke in its relation to Mark is by no means simple. No simple solution could be expected to explain phenomena admitted to be extremely complex. It is presented here in outline only, more briefly than would be the case in a discussion of the Synoptic Problem generally. The present aim is merely to account for the Broken Ending of Mark, and to show that its disappearance was not accidental, since a merely accidental lacuna would have been quickly remedied. The disappearance of the original Ending forms part of the protracted story of adjustment between two conflicting streams of tradition both of which Mark had attempted to combine. The disruptive force came from inside. In respect to the time and place of Peter's vision of the risen Christ Mark retains traces of a better tradition than Luke. But in Luke there are traces of a tradition which is superior to Mark as respects Peter's isolation from the rest when he "turned again." The Special Source of Luke also introduces a new factor, the story of the Women at the Sepulchre, whose historical value is hard to appraise since it is unknown to, or ignored by, Paul. The vain attempt of Mark to bring this new factor into harmony with his story of an appearance to Peter "and those who were with him" in Galilee (a fusion into one event of the two appearances reported by Paul: "to Peter, *then* to the Twelve") is responsible for the present condition of the Ending of his Gospel. For the blank space left by Codex Vaticanus after Mk. 16:8 is due to the scribe's inability to choose between alternates: one (the so-called Shorter Ending) which followed the Galilean (Matthean) tradition, the other the Longer Ending, which followed the Jerusalem (Lukan) tradition. The Jerusalem tradition (in the form adopted by Luke) is itself composite, whether this be due to compilation by our canonical evangelist, or (more probably) to his use of a Special Source already blended of two elements, A and B, or else an early source (A) expanded by the interweaving of later elements (B). Of these two elements the earlier, A, is known to Mark, who has taken from it the story of the Women at the Sepulchre without regard for its connection. B is unknown to Mark, perhaps itself dependent on Mark.

The above conclusions are based on phenomena of the text which have been placed before the reader as fully as present conditions allow. If well founded they will explain the Broken Ending, and throw much needed light on the Composition of the Gospel.

CHAPTER XVI

THE LINGUISTIC ARGUMENT

In the preceding chapters on the Composition of Mark an attempt has been made to show that the process was at least something more than the simple casting into written form of a single narrative, the unified product of an individual mind. In so complex a problem it cannot be expected that competent readers will accept at all points the reasoning of the critic. The solution offered may appear at several points defective. In several it may well be superseded by a better, a result in which the author also will take satisfaction. Of one thing, however, he expects to convince every reader who has patience to verify all factors of the argument; it should be apparent that the Gospel was not written *aus einem Guss,* but has strata of successive periods, seams and faultings, overlappings and duplications, like the other compositions of its type. It has a *past,* whose record, difficult though it may be to decipher, often perplexing to the most patient scrutiny, is written in the phenomena of its structure, and will reveal something of the history of the work to him who patiently analyzes and compares.

These phenomena of composition and structure have their direct bearing on the question of date, especially if it become possible to identify individual sources, since these, taken by themselves, or compared with elements employed elsewhere, may prove more easily datable than the Gospel which builds upon them. To this enquiry we must ultimately return, taking up again in our constructive argument the question of the Second Source and its date, and the relation of Mark to the Special Source of Luke, whether in discourse or narrative material. Meantime the complexity of structure already established has an indirect bearing on the argument from language, which of late years has received increased attention.

The theory of Aramaic originals for the Gospels is as old as the enquiries of Papias. The mere fact that the native language of Jesus and the Twelve was Aramaic (or, as Papias and other Greeks undiscriminatingly called it, "Hebrew") was enough for second-century apologists, who in opposition to Gnostic charges of falsification endeavored to authenticate the documents. They would have assumed "Hebrew" originals even had they been blind (as they could not well be) to the conspicuous contrast presented by the

'translation Greek' of the narrative and 'prophetic' literature of the Church, when compared with the language of the Epistles, or the ordinary Hellenistic κοινή. Papias has much to say about "translation" of the original "commandments" (ἐντολαί, λόγια) of the Lord, by Mark, by himself (or perhaps the Elders from whom he derived his "Interpretations"), and (in the case of Matthew) by unknown and unofficial translators. A quarter-millenium later Jerome plumes himself on the discovery of the "authentic Hebrew" referred to by Papias, though what he actually possessed was only an Aramaic targum (that is, a homiletic free rendition) of our own Matthew, previously in the hands of Apollinarios of Laodicea among the Nazarene Christians of Beroea in Syria. Jerome, ignorant of the very language in which his "authentic Hebrew" was written, gave color to his claims of discovery by borrowing from Origen certain quotations from the *Evangelium Hebraeorum*, a totally different work probably written in Greek, not of Nazarene (orthodox) but of pronounced Ebionite character. The addition from Origen was incongruous, but in an uncritical age it served to bolster up the false claims of Jerome.

In modern times the "Aramaic originals" have received renewed attention, and this philological study has hastened the gradual relinquishment of the "oral tradition" theory. For critics now realize that the phenomena of gospel composition imperatively demand the use of documents; and documents written in the Greek language, since the verbal coincidences between the Synoptists are in Greek. The period of oral tradition has thus receded further and further into the background. Ultimately, of course, utterance by word of mouth was the means of transmission. The logia (or, as the precepts are still called in the Pastoral Epistles and the Oxyrhynchus Fragment II, the "words," λόγοι) of Jesus were at first transmitted unwritten. The haggada or ἱερος λόγος of the Christian Passover, including not only the story of "the night in which he (Jesus) was betrayed" (I Cor. 11:23), but probably also the story of the resurrection appearances (15:2-11) was still current in 53 A.D. in oral form (καταγγέλλετε, παρέλαβον, παρέδωκα). But at a very early date written collections of the "teachings" were certainly employed.

The supposed prejudice, inherited from the Synagogue, which forbade the use of such literature, is based on a misunderstanding. The rabbi was not forbidden the use of writing; he was only prohibited from bringing his private notes into the public service of worship. The system of catechesis employed even in Paul's time by "pastors and teachers" would make the use of written collections indispensable, especially in the churches outside of Palestine not

possessed of native tradition. And besides the "health-giving words, even the words of our Lord Jesus" (I Tim. 6:3) there would also be accumulated "narratives" (διηγήσεις Lk. 1:1), anecdotes of the ministry as well as of the passion and resurrection. The telling of the latter belonged regularly to the (Christian) Passover, but the "Teaching of Baptisms" (Heb. 6:2) would inevitably tend to include an account of how Jesus himself when baptized by John received "the Spirit of Adoption, which witnesseth with our spirit that we are born of God," and how after "God anointed him with the Holy Spirit and power"

> he went about doing good, healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him (Acts 10:38).

Amalgamation of "the things said" with "the things done," natural in itself, would thus become an inevitable development. And Aramaic would be the first language employed because even in Gentile regions the first teachers of the Church were converted Jews. The two foci of attraction would be the two ordinances for neophytes, baptism and the supper. For this reason, doubtless, the earliest form of evangelic tradition begins with "the baptism which John preached," and ends with the passion and resurrection (Acts 10:38-43).

For this reason equally the extant Gospels (especially Mark, the earliest) and even the Pauline Epistles, show a general structure in which baptism and the supper form the basic substratum of the doctrine.[1] It is the tracing of this gradual development, complicated by the difference of language, hastened among the remoter churches by the inferior previous training of catechumens, which constitutes our problem. When, where, and how, was the transition made from oral to written form? When did Aramaic *diegeses* give way to Gospels compiled in the Greek language, based on the Greek Old Testament, and employing sources which (however genuinely Aramaic in their origin) were in Greek when transcribed by two or more of our evangelists? For even the oldest of our extant Gospels stands at this stage of the development. Modern criticism, better equipped philologically than second-century apologists, attacks this complicated problem, recognizing this fact at least by common consent: that the problem is literary, not oral.

The common characteristic of all Gospels, more pronounced the further we go back toward the beginnings, is their imperfect articulation. This is the outstanding feature with which the earliest tradi-

[1] See Bacon, "Reflections of Ritual in Paul." *Harvard Theological Review*, VIII (Oct. 1915).

tion deals, and is doubtless correctly interpreted by the second century when it speaks of the homiletic anecdotes of Peter. This imperfect articulation, adverted to in the Elders' criticism of Mark, is a significant survival of the age before that of connected narrative. Mark truly does reflect the stage of "sayings and doings" loosely aggregated for the use of preachers "as the needs might require." Its "order" is anything but careless or haphazard, but it is less advanced than that of either Matthew or Luke, whether the advance made be along the road of "syntaxes of logia," after the plan of Matthew, or that of "diegeses," after the plan of Luke. This fundamental characteristic is a guarantee that in the case of Mark at least we are not far removed from the age of primitive homiletic anecdote or Christian midrash. But the question is, How far? And to this the evidence of translation has a contribution to make.

Arguments for the date and derivation of Mark based on its use of 'translation Greek' will depend for their applicability on the extent and character of this use. The Semitisms appear to extend beyond the mere individual anecdotes (which at some stage would inevitably go back to the Aramaic), and characterize to greater or less extent the redaction also. If the demonstration could be carried far enough, so as to show that every sentence and clause had a Semitic original, this might conceivably warrant the inference (actually drawn by Wellhausen) that its place of origin was in the East, presumably Palestine, if not Jerusalem "the seat of tradition." But granting the extremest claims of Semitic coloration the objections to such an inference would be serious, if not fatal. The formidable strength of primitive tradition, unanimous as to the Hellenistic, or specifically Roman, origin of Mark, and supported by internal evidence of considerable weight and extent, has already been pointed out in the volume entitled *Is Mark a Roman Gospel?* It has been further corroborated above (p. 172 ff.). Explanations of Jewish customs such as Mk. 7 : 3, and the pronounced anti-Jewish propensities of the evangelist, in particular his attitude toward traditions tending to exalt Jerusalem and its leading apostles and great personages—an attitude invariably critical if not hostile—make it difficult to suppose that this Gospel was compiled for an Aramaic-speaking church. In addition the great mass of the biblical quotations are made on the basis of the Greek translation, several being entirely inapplicable on the basis of the Hebrew. If exceptions appear it is in material which we have independent reason to believe borrowed from an earlier source.

As regards evidences of Greek derivation the phenomena are

curiously similar to those of Acts 1-12 (I Acts) and I Peter. In fact this becomes the chief ground of argument in the scholarly work of E. Scharfe entitled *Die Petrinische Strömung der Neutestamentlichen Literatur* (Berlin, 1893) for derivation of all three writings (I Acts being regarded as a Petrine source employed by Luke) from Peter himself. But the most striking of the phenomena obviously require some intermediate link. We may state them in Scharfe's own synopsis (p. VII):

> The language of the First Epistle of Peter obtains its characteristic stamp through close dependence on that of the Septuagint, with which it coincides not merely in its citations but in its entire vocabulary.
>
> Just as in the case of I Peter the Gospel of Mark depends on the Septuagint for its citations and for its entire use of language. The discourses of Acts show no divergence from this linguistic type.
>
> The three writings show affinity in this respect also, that to a considerable extent a common use of language is peculiar to them, and this use cannot be explained merely by common dependence on the Septuagint.

Verification of these results will not require the transcription of Scharfe's seventy pages of linguistic data. It may be said in brief that while a few inaccuracies appear the substance of the argument is abundantly borne out by the facts. Nothing can be cited requiring the assumption of common authorship, even as regards a common narrative source underlying Mark and I Acts. But the influence of the LXX is unmistakable. The three writings need not necessarily be connected in any other way than their putting forward in various ways the authority of Peter, but this they certainly have in common; even when (as in the case of Mark and I Acts) they show an Aramaic foundation they seem to be composed by a Hellenistic Jew for Greek-speaking Christians whose Bible is the Greek Old Testament. Whatever the possible connection of the Apostle Peter with the Aramaic foundation, it is manifestly difficult to imagine him fulfilling the rôle of this Hellenistic Jew.

Whether the document in question be Mark or I Acts the doctrine of translation from the Aramaic must take account of this undeniable influence of the Septuagint, extending far beyond the limits of mere translation, as when in Acts 15:14-21 the whole sense of the argument depends on the Greek form of the Old Testament citation. And this is not offset even if the allegation prove true that the Semitic coloration of the narrative extends to portions of the redaction as well as the incorporated material. For catechists to whom the redaction of the original separate anecdotes would naturally fall, would in most cases be converted Jews, who, whatever their doctrinal propensities, would be familiar with Aramaic as

their mother tongue. The nature of the material, involving in the case of Mark both transliteration and translation of Aramaic words and phrases (3:17; 5:41; 7:2, 11, 34; 11:9 f.; 14:36; 15:34), would make this almost a matter of course, even did we not know that catechists and teachers in the primitive Church were as a rule of Jewish birth. Whether a native of Palestine or not (and the seemingly imperfect knowledge of Palestinian geography, displayed in such passages as 5:1, 14, 20; 6:45, 53; 7:24, 31; 8:10, 22; 11:1, Jewish law and custom in 7:3 f.; 10:12; 14:12-16, and local history in 3:6; 6:14-29; 8:15; 12:13, suggests the latter alternative) the compiler of Mark was almost certainly a converted Jew, to whom Aramaic was familiar from childhood,[2] whereas Greek, while at least equally familiar, was known in the same colloquial, semi-barbarous form that it assumes in the slightly later Roman-Christian writing of Hermas.

Thus the inference of Wellhausen from the extent of the Semitic coloration to a Palestinian origin for Mark is far from cogent, while the indications of Roman provenance, supporting the strong second-century testimony to the same effect, are overwhelmingly opposed. The readers of this Gospel are not expected to know what is the season of figs in Jerusalem (11:13), nor that the αὐλή of Pilate's residence was "the Praetorium" (15:16), nor that two *lepta* make a *quadrans* (12:42), nor what "the Jews" do to maintain their ritual purity (7:3 f.). The evangelist must tell them the meaning of "Boanerges" (3:17), "*talitha qumi*" (5:41), "*qorban*" (which he says in 7:11 means "a gift" (?)), "*ephphatha*" (7:34), and "*Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani,*" which he says the bystanders mistook for a cry to Elias (!).[3] Even "*abba*" requires the adjunct ὁ πατήρ (14:36). He forgets, or thinks it unnecessary, to explain the meaning of "Beelzebul" (3:22), "Satan" (3:23, 26; 4:15, etc.), "*rabbi*" and "*rabbouni*" (9:5; 11:21; 14:45, and 10:51), and "*hosanna*" (construed in 11:9 f. as an ascription of praise (!)). One may cherish doubts as to the correctness of the informa-

[2] Knowledge of Hebrew would not necessarily follow. On this see below, p. 216 f.

[3] Matthew tries to make the misunderstanding of the bystanders more intelligible by substituting the Hebrew *Eli, Eli* (Ἠλεί, Ἠλεί) for the Aramaic *elohi, elohi,* which could hardly be mistaken for the name of the expected prophet, but without retranslating into Hebrew the rest of the quotation. This further step is taken by the second-century transcriber of the β text. In neither case are we justified in assuming any independent information. It does seem probable, however, that the source (Aramaic?) from which Mark drew quoted the Hebrew. Of course this interpretation of the "great cry" would be a 'Scripture fulfilment' of the purely imaginative type. The section Mk. 15:33-36 we have already seen (above, p. 199) to be a duplicate of verse 37.

tion furnished, but none whatever as to the need which it is intended to meet. The readers have a keen curiosity to know the exact Aramaic words used by Jesus on the momentous or symbolic occasions where they are given, else they would not be transliterated. But they are not expected to know their meaning, else they would not be translated. The β text carries the process to pedantic absurdity by supplying the original *Hebrew*[4] for the utterance on the cross. This implies that as late as *ca.* 150 A.D. readers still wished to be told not merely the very syllables Jesus employed, but if the phrase happen to be from the Old Testament he must be assumed to have quoted from the original (!). It is important to observe the quasi-antiquarian interest thus implied already in Mark's time on the part of readers. But apart from this it is clear that the data supplied were to them something strange and foreign. Jerusalem in 50-100 did not furnish readers of this type.

It becomes necessary, accordingly, for those who maintain a Palestinian origin for Mark, even if the date be not made earlier than 70, to distinguish at least a certain external envelope to which the theory of translation from a Semitic original does not apply. The explanations and editorial comments were added afterward to accompany the translation when the material was given out in Greek. But the remainder, it is maintained, is so completely a unit that we must imagine the translator as abstaining altogether from compilation. He did not collect and edit (except as aforesaid), but confined himself strictly to the task of rendering into Greek the single document which lay before him.

Besides the serious difficulty from the use of the Septuagint two *a priori* objections are immediately apparent: (1) Primitive tradition, which is never tired of harping on the supposed Aramaic original Matthew (a pure figment of apologetic imagination), has not the faintest suggestion of an Aramaic original of Mark. (2) Of all the Gospels, none of which are entirely lacking in the phenomena which accompany compilation and agglutination, there is none in which the evidences are so unmistakable and constant as in Mark. To these we need hardly return. If additional proof of the composite character of this Gospel be required reference may be made to the *Commentary*.

The degree to which Semitic coloration of the language of Mark may be properly said to extend to the redaction as well as the material is still undetermined. It does not seem likely to be determined before we decide at least what portions are to be regarded as redactional, and whether the Gospel has passed through one or several

[4] On the beginnings of this process in Mt. 27: 46 see preceding note.

redactions. If the latter be not the case with the work as known to us, it is pretty certainly the case with the incorporated material, and this supposition adds quite as much complexity to the problem. Editorial elements are present. That is universally conceded. Some of this connective tissue appears to share in the Semitic coloration of the language. That is less certain, but may be conceded as probable. The inference is drawn by a certain group of writers, *not* including Wellhausen, the most eminent advocate of the translation theory, that the entire Gospel, in substantially its present form must have originated at an early date. We may take an example from the article "Mark, Gospel of" in Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (1906). After a detailed examination of the article, "Aramaic Gospels," by W. C. Allen in *The Expositor* (V, 321), but without notice of the more fundamental work by Wellhausen, Dr. A. J. McLean, author of the *Dictionary* article proceeds:

> If the Aramaic-original theory be true, we must put back the date considerably, as Mr. Allen sees, probably to a date before A.D. 60; and then the Gospel is not likely to have been written in Rome. In this last detail the ecclesiastical testimony is again contradicted by the theory.

Hasty and sweeping inferences such as these could only be warranted, if at all, on the supposition that the entire Second Gospel, substantially as we know it, was translated *en bloc* from the Aramaic. But besides the *a priori* improbabilities already pointed out, such a supposition encounters immediately in the Scripture quotations of the Gospel a very serious if not fatal objection. For apart from certain rare exceptions, which (as we shall see) give independent evidence of being not the evangelist's own, but borrowed from his sources, the Scripture quotations of Mark are uniformly based on the LXX text. In some cases it is only the LXX rendering which makes them applicable. Were the evangelist a mere translator of an Aramaic work it is inconceivable that in upwards of seventy instances of quotation, usually without any indication of dependence, he should have turned to the original and carefully adjusted his translation to the wording of the LXX. What imaginable object could be subserved by substituting the LXX form ἐκτίναξαι τὸν χοῦν of Is. 52:2 for the more appropriate κονιορτόν by which both parallels correctly render the Hebrew? This instance from Mk. 6:11= Mt. 10:14=Lk. 10:11·(*cf.* Acts 13:51) is typical. The Q form is basic. Mark is influenced (no doubt unconsciously) by his familiarity with the LXX phrase in an exceptionally well-known passage. But we may take another example.

In Mk. 11:2 the evangelist describes the colt on which Jesus is

to sit as unbroken. The intention unmistakably is to describe a fulfilment of the Scripture Zech. 9:9. This is in fact declared to be the intention by the later evangelists, who take pains to conform the language to the Hebrew original (Mt. 21:5; Jn. 12:15). But the Hebrew gives no intimation that "no man had ever yet sat" on the colt. Only the LXX by adding the adjective *νέον* ("new," that is, "unbroken") in Zech. 9:9 give occasion for this curious assertion of Mark.

These two instances may be taken as establishing the general rule long noted by students of the text of Mark, and shown in detail by Scharfe, that his quotations though free are based on the LXX text. In view of his use of sources it would be strange indeed if occasional instances did not occur of borrowed citations reflecting more or less of the Hebrew original; for the Q quotations seem to have this character. There may well be occasional accidental resemblances, as where in Mk. 10:19 the ordinary form of prohibition (*μὴ φονεύσῃς*) takes the place of the LXX *οὐ φονεύσεις* (which Matthew characteristically restores). We may also expect, in language so familiar to every Jewish boy as that of the Shem'a (Mk. 12:29), alongside of the LXX *ἐξ* (for which Matthew restores the Hebrew *ἐν=be*) the better rendering "strength" (*ἰσχύος*) instead of LXX "power" (*δυνάμεως*). Exceptions such as these must be studied by themselves. The rule stands. The Bible of our evangelist is the Greek Bible. Until this conclusion is overthrown all evidences of translation must be held as applying to but a part of the material, for the evangelist, as we have seen, does not confine himself to mere literal rendition.

The case, then, is by no means so simple as Dr. McLean supposes, and we are far from the unwelcome necessity of maintaining that "the ecclesiastical tradition is contradicted by the theory (of translation)." In reality an Aramaic original, even if extended to cover some of the editorial matter (and even the extremest advocates of this view will not maintain that it covers all), does not compel us to hold to a Palestinian origin for anything beyond the sources,[5] which in any event would be Palestinian. Much less does it compel us "to put back the date." On this point we may recall the utterance of Wellhausen (*Einl.* p. 87):

> So far as date of composition is concerned, in 13:29 the destruction of Jerusalem is distinguished from the Parousia as already accomplished, and serves only as a sign of the approach of the latter. But this verse occurs

[5] The Aramaizing redaction might be Palestinian, or merely Hellenistic. It might be partly one, partly the other. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, Mark incorporates considerable sections (including redaction) from a Jerusalem source.

in an attachment to the Jewish apocalpyse in chapter 13, which itself has been intercalated as a supplement. Apart from this we are given a chronological clew in 10:39, where the two sons of Zebedee appear as protomartyrs among the twelve. However, we cannot make full use of it; for we know the date only of James' execution, not the date of John's. If it be really the latter who is meant in Gal. 2:9, he must have survived in Jerusalem seventeen years after the conversion of Paul, and the Gospel of Mark could only have been written a number of years after A.D. 50.

In several respects we have felt compelled to differ with the eminent philologian and critic from whom the above is quoted. As we have just seen, his contradiction of primitive tradition regarding geographical provenance on the ground of Aramaic origin was altogether hasty. The same reasoning would lead to similar results regarding the Fourth Gospel, wherein Dr. Burney finds evidence of translation from Aramaic no less conclusive than in Mark, the Semitic coloration of the language extending here also to elements of a redactional character.[6] But few will venture to question ancient tradition regarding the late date and Ephesian provenance of the Fourth Gospel. Therefore "the Aramaic-original theory" when applied in this sweeping way either proves nothing, or else quite too much. The assumption that "we must put back the date" of Gospels written in Aramaic would compel us to assign an early origin to Jerome's Nazarene Gospel, which we know to be a late targum of canonical Matthew. It would compel us to regard the translations into the "Hebrew" (Aramaic) of the Fourth Gospel and Book of Acts, still current among the Jewish Christians of Tiberias in Epiphanius' time (*Haer.* xxx. 3, 6, and 13) as ancient documents. In short, it puts us, critically speaking, at the standpoint of Jerome, with his naïve logic that a writing in Aramaic must be not far removed from "the authentic Hebrew."

The reasoning applies equally to documents translated (or concocted) from Aramaic, such as the *Ev. Petri,* certainly not earlier than 120 A.D., but written in 'translation Greek' of pronounced character.[7] What the phenomena really indicate is no such romantic conclusion as Jerome's or that of his modern imitators, but simply that the business of supplying the churches with accounts of things said or done by the Lord (*ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα,*) while it lasted, fell into the hands of Christians of Jewish birth, to whom Aramaic was familiar, and that the material chosen, whether earlier or later,

6 *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel,* by C. F. Burney, D.Litt., Oxford, 1922.

7 Note in ii. 5 *πρὸ μιᾶς τῶν ἀζύμων,* in ix. 35 *ἀνὰ δύο δύο,* in xii. 50, *ὄρθρου δὲ τῇ κυριακῇ,* etc.

authentic or unauthentic, was such as by its language (if not otherwise) could be easily identified as "Hebrew." This period of Gospel composition lasted well into the second century; but in the later time it came more and more to be limited (as in *Ev. Petri*) to the standard material of Synoptic tradition. Semitic coloration of the language is therefore too general a characteristic to shed much light upon either date or provenance of a given gospel document. Without this characteristic it might not have been preserved at all. At Rome or at Ephesus, in 50 A.D. or 100 A.D., compilers of gospels would limit themselves to material of this type. It is very well worth while, however, to observe that whereas both Mark and Luke reflect an interest on the part of their Greek-speaking readers in the unfamiliar modes of expression reported by their evangelist as belonging to the scenes depicted, this interest is met in quite a different way by the later and more cultured *autor ad Theophilum*. At this point philological study has really important contributions to make to our enquiry.

Both Matthew and Luke correct the roughness and solecisms of Mark's colloquial and occasionally even ungrammatical Greek. Obviously they take no interest in preserving mere uncouthnesses as such. They wish to remove them. Nevertheless both introduce (or retain from the sources) to much greater extent than Mark certain *favored types* of Semitisms, such as the καὶ ἰδού, and τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς of Matthew, and the endless and varied καί ἐγένετο of Luke. These have the true oriental ring to the discriminating ear, and are carefully retained when found in the source (not invented) by a stylist such as Luke. On the other hand Luke takes no interest in so crude a device for the creation of Oriental atmosphere as the transliteration of Aramaic phrases. For *rabbi* and *rabbouni* in Mark he simply gives the Greek equivalent διδάσκαλος or ἐπιστατής. Similarly Luke does his full duty as a translator in rendering Σίμωνα τὸν Καναναῖον of Mk. 3:18 as Σίμωνα τὸν καλούμενον Ζηλωτήν. Of Mark's conspicuous transliterations of Aramaic words and phrases he significantly omits every one. Transliteration is not the method of the cultured Greek stylist. He attains the same result to far better effect by a vivid contrast of style. For this purpose little more was needful than simply to retain the quaint oriental (and especially biblical) modes of expression of his sources, just as he retains the first person plural in the Travel-document of Acts. So far as Luke's source had already been translated into Greek (and the verbal coincidence of long Q passages in Matthew and Luke indicates that this was sometimes the case) the retention was already secured. It belonged to the ordinary method of literal rendering characteristic of the time.

Luke's predecessor, whether a stylist or not, worked here in his interest. For the rest Luke varies the expression, chooses terms of his own, improves and retouches with skilful hand, till he has impressed upon the whole work his own characteristic style and vocabulary; yet he has retained the Semitic coloration, because it was his special object to do so. What was but crudely attempted in Mark, Luke, using a different method, has seemingly carried out with a master hand.

The preservation in Mark of a large amount of material (not excluding some of redactional type) written in 'translation Greek' is only what we should expect of any compiler under the circumstances the primitive tradition requires us to assume. If this evangelist did his work at Rome after the death of Peter and Paul (and perhaps of Mark also, though still under the sanction of Mark's authority), we should expect it, so far as Semitic coloration is concerned, to have the linguistic character actually displayed. As remarked long since by Schmiedel (*Enc. Bibl., s.v.,* "Gospels" sect. 130, col. 1871):

> The gain from recourse to the theory of such an (Aramaic) original is in the first place this, that certain Greek expressions will then admit of explanation as being errors of translation. Once made, such errors could very well pass on without change from one Greek writing to a second and to a third. But it will be at once obvious that such an explanation can have importance only in regard to particular passages, not in regard to the origin of the gospels as complete books.

Translation errors have been established with high probability both in Q and in Mark, making the use of Aramaic documents almost a certainty somewhere in the pedigree of both. In neither case does it appear that the mistranslation was due to the canonical evangelist. The errors were already present when the works containing them were incorporated in the later compilation. This can be proved in the case of Q by the verbal coincidence of extracts made independently by Matthew and Luke. In the case of Mark it is made at least probable by his use of the same source in the same rendering,[8] as well as by his dependence on other Greek documents.

For it is rather the use of Greek documents (albeit translated) that deserves special attention in Mark than the Semitic coloration of his language, which as we have seen is nothing peculiar, but in greater or less degree a general phenomenon of all gospels. In the borrowed quotation from Mal. 3:1, which our evangelist mistakenly ascribes to "Isaiah," 1:2 follows exactly the wording of Q

[8] Above, p. 156.

(Mt. 11:10=Lk. 7:27) in spite of its broad differences from the LXX. Not knowing where to find the original Mark naturally does not correct it. It is also evident that he uses Q in its Greek form, the same translated form subsequently found in the hands of Matthew and Luke. As we have seen, this is far from being the only instance where Mark employs this document. But the very next words to those thus borrowed in 1:2, attached as if part of the same Scripture, are drawn from Is. 40:3, and not from the Hebrew but from the LXX. For Mark is depending on the Greek when he compares John's preaching in the desert (ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ) to the Isaian "voice crying in the wilderness." (So LXX.) In the Hebrew it is (quite correctly) the "highway" which is to be built across the desert, whereas the "voice" is of course not in the wilderness, but where hearers are to be found. Mark (or the source he employs) misunderstands, because here (as elsewhere) he uses the Greek Old Testament, his very language in several instances being unmistakably colored by it.

Another possible exception to Mark's citation from the Septuagint would be the "hosanna" of Mk. 11:9 f., a further instance of exceptions which "prove the rule." For, as we have already noted,[9] Mark is not speaking here at first hand but using Q material. Moreover the fact that he understands the cry to be an ascription of praise shows that he was no Hebraist, however familiar with Aramaic and the phrases of Jewish liturgy. Neither can Mt. 21:9 be cited in support of Hebrew usage of this kind. Matthew adds "to the Son of David" as an equivalent for the omitted clause "blessed be the coming kingdom of our father David" (Mk. 11:10). He accepts the current idea (which appears not alone in Mark but also in *Didaché* x. 6: "Hosanna to the God of David") that *hosanna* was an ascription of praise, an idea probably based upon its liturgical use in the Psalms (20:9), especially the Great Hallel, or Passover Psalm (118:25). In fact Mark employs the shortened form (*hosha-na,* not *hoshia-na*), which, as Dalman points out,[10] is that employed in the Jewish liturgy. Mark also adds "in the highest places" (ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις), which Luke makes intelligible to Greek-speaking Christians in phraseology borrowed from the angels' song at the Nativity: "Peace (be) in heaven, and glory (to God) in the

[9] Above, p. 168. Another exception might possibly be claimed in Mk. 10:19, where the Ten Commandments are loosely cited (*cf.* "defraud not"). But here the use of the ordinary form of prohibition (μή with imperative) instead of the unusual form of LXX (οὐ with future indicative), is far more probably due to simple lapse into ordinary Greek than to independent translation from the Hebrew.

[10] *Worte Jesu,* 1898, pp. 180-183. The whole discussion is highly instructive.

highest places." Luke takes Mark to mean (perhaps correctly), "Let angels also praise him"; *cf.* Ps. 148:1. In reality the words are merely a reflection of the Hallel liturgy. The Psalm passage used the name Jehovah no less than four times, which current practice avoided by the use of circumlocutions such as "heaven," "in the presence of God," or "of the angels" (so Lk. 15:7, 10, "joy in heaven," or "in the presence of angels," for "God rejoices"). The cry was "Hosanna, blessed be he that cometh *in the name of Jehovah*" (*cf.* Q Mt. 23:39=Lk. 13:35). As Dalman points out, "in the highest places" is substituted for "in the name of Jehovah," a further indication that Mark is using Q material, perhaps not appreciating that his final clause only repeats in more reverential form the utterance already given in verse 9b. The fact that Matthew repeats, without essential change, suggests, but perhaps may not suffice to prove, that this evangelist also "was no Hebraist, and hence cannot have been the Apostle."[11] One may be permitted to doubt whether the Apostle Matthew was a Hebraist. One may also doubt whether the occasional employments of the Hebrew text in our First Gospel prove that evangelist a Hebraist. In some instances they are manifestly borrowed, perhaps they may be in all. The latter is certainly the case in Mark. Mark at least "was no Hebraist."

A discriminating study of the linguistic features of Mark leads thus to results which, so far from refuting, distinctly support and confirm those already obtained from the phenomena of structure and composition. For two deductions we are indebted mainly to Semitic grammarians and philologians, such as Wellhausen and Dalman, Allen and Torrey, though thanks are also due to Blass, a great classical grammarian. It may well be hoped that researches into the Aramaic originals of our Gospels, proving that the Semitic coloration is not a matter merely of the material content, but extends to certain parts of the connective tissue, will have given at last the *coup de grâce* to the oral tradition theory, by showing that whatever the initial stages the process with which the critic has to do belongs to the history of written material. His subject matter consists of documents, compiled, edited, translated. This is the first and great contribution of the Semitists. The second is also helpful. It tends to disprove, perhaps has actually disproved, the contention of critics such as Schmiedel and Harnack, that our evangelists, especially Luke, wrote a "biblical" Greek, imitating the Old Testament as school-boys imitate the Elizabethan English of the Authorized Version with abundant use of phrases such as "And it came

[11] Dalman, *ibid.*

to pass,'' ''lifted up his voice and wept,'' and the like; or that they employed a ''Jewish Greek'' which had similar characteristics. ''Translation Greek'' is a term that will abide because it stands for a reality. It attests the important fact that the peculiarities noted are not imitations, but true survivals. It is accompanied by an increasing number of interesting and instructive ''translation errors,'' some of which may fail before the acid tests of criticism, but some of which will surely remain to corroborate the theory, and to enrich our critical analysis and interpretation. This also calls for appreciation of the work of the grammarians.

On the other hand stands the work of critics, or men who, like Wellhausen, combine critical skill with expert authority in the field of Semitic philology. To these is due the recognition that the Greek coloration as well as the Semitic extends below the surface. It is they who justly insist that the phenomena of composition shall be considered as well as those of simple translation, and these phenomena compel the recognition of Greek sources and Greek editorial work, as well as Semitic. Neither kind of coloration, then, belongs to the surface only. The cloth with which we have to do is ''dyed in the wool,'' but not in one color only.

PART IV

DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE

CHAPTER XVII

PAULINE AND MARKAN CHRISTOLOGY

The question of priority as between Paul and Mark is to some extent a question of dependence in doctrine, and this involves primarily a definition of the Pauline Christology based on a survey of the Epistles, and a comparison of it with the Christology of Mark; because in primitive Christian documents the Christology is central and determinative. The writer's message *is* his Christology, if under this head we include also his soteriology. And if the Christology admit of analysis, so as to determine the component ideas (with or without determination of their sources), it may become possible to say: Such and such a Christology is Pauline, or Petrine, or perhaps merely pre-Pauline. And analysis is not impracticable. In the case of the Epistles we are aided by our knowledge of the Petro-Pauline controversy and by certain specific statements of the Apostle concerning "the gospel I received" (I Cor. 15:1-11). In the case of Mark we have indications of duplication and editorial manipulation. In both cases certain factors are presupposed.

1. In general terms we may say without fear of successful contradiction that the Christology of Paul presupposes certain more primitive types, which we may designate respectively the "Son of David" Christology, the "Servant" Christology, and the "Son of Man" Christology. We may consider them in this order.

The messianic ideal which controls in the Son of David Christology is closely akin to the nationalistic-Jewish. It appears most clearly in the speech of James in Acts 15:14-21, based upon the prophecy of Am. 9:11 f., and making the restoration of the ruined kingdom of David central, with "the residue of men" as an adjunct. Traces appear also in the Genealogy of Matthew (Mt. 1:1-16), in the liturgy of the *Didaché* (x) and some elements of Luke. While it clearly contemplates a restoration of the kingdom of David as the messianic ideal, maintaining a sort of caliphate of the kindred of Jesus in Jerusalem while awaiting his return on the clouds of heaven, it is not by intention Jewish- but universal-Christian. Nevertheless, however kindly meant, it was manifestly not adapted to the winning of Gentile converts. Luke, who can incorporate without a qualm statements of the mission of the Christ such as the canticles of Lk. 1:46-55 and 68-79, has the literary sense to appre-

ciate their idyllic beauty. He has also the knowledge that they come from the most primitive Jewish-Christian circles. Therefore he makes them part of his Gospel. But this presupposes a certain measure of historical and literary adaptation. Practically the Gentile world was *not* converted to a gospel which proclaimed as the mission of the Redeemer the scattering of the proud (Gentiles), the putting down of princes, the deliverance of Israel, God's Beloved, in fulfilment of the promises made to the patriarchs, the raising up of a horn of salvation in the house of God's servant David:

> Salvation from our enemies,
> And from the hand of all that hate us;
> To show mercy towards our fathers
> And to remember his holy covenant:
> The oath which he sware to Abraham our father,
> To grant us that in deliverance out of the hand of our enemies
> We should serve him without fear,
> In holiness and righteousness before him all our days.

Practically it is just as certain that the Christology which actually called into being the churches of the Greek-speaking world was not of this Son of David type, as it is that the Jerusalem decrees, drawn up to avoid "pollutions of idols" by imposing rules of kosher food on churches which counted in their membership those "Jews among the Gentiles" so dear to the heart of James, were not really promulgated by Paul and Silas in Galatia as a settlement of the great controversy (Acts 16:4). In both cases the literary artist and antiquarian of the early Church is embodying material for its literary beauty and historical interest rather than because he frames, or can frame, a true picture of the situation. This nationalistic type of Messiah is explicitly repudiated by Paul; considerately and tactfully in Rom. 1:3 f., more peremptorily in II Cor. 5:16 as "a Christ after the flesh." Nevertheless the Son of David Christology is presupposed by the very fact of Paul's opposition. But scarcely among the Gentile churches. We can imagine "certain from James" attempting to bring over to the ranks of "the circumcision" those among Paul's converts partly of Jewish birth, like Timothy, or otherwise connected with "the Jews which are among the Gentiles." We can imagine them forming parties in his churches like those at Corinth who claimed to be "of Christ," meaning thereby that they followed the example of Christ in being circumcised and keeping the Law. But it is impossible to imagine them faring boldly forth like Paul, "where the name of Christ had not been named" and making Gentile converts by proclaiming a Son of David who rules

the Gentiles with a rod of iron and dashes them in pieces like a potter's vessel.[1]

2. The Servant Christology scarcely needs further description. We know that it was primitive from the express statement of Paul (I Cor. 15:3). There are critical reasons for directly connecting it with the name of Peter. At all events within the compass of the New Testament it is only in the speeches of Peter in Acts 2-4 that the title "the Servant" is employed, and it is only in documents such as I Peter, which (justly or unjustly) are coupled with Peter's name, that the Isaian ideal occupies the foreground. Among these documents we must certainly class the Special Source of Luke (wherein Peter forms the central figure next to Jesus himself) and perhaps the bulk of the Q material. At all events a very large part of the Q material conspicuously displays this Christology of the Isaian Servant-prophecies. We may even say that in such passages as the Temptation it is definitely set over against the Son of David Christology, and in others, such as the Parables of the Kingdom (Mk. 4:1-34) and Works of the Christ (Mt. 11:2-19=Lk. 7:18-35), it is differentiated from the Son of Man Christology also. The Genealogy and Infancy chapters of Luke seem to have a similar relation to the Matthean. Neither can be really primitive. But the ideal represented in Mt. 1:1-2:23 differs widely from the Lukan. In Matthew Christ descends from the royal line, and all the incidents related point to his ultimate triumph as Son of David. In Luke this is greatly softened. Christ is still Son of David, but not by the royal line. He appears among the lowliest, as their friend and champion; but he triumphs as (universalistic) Son of Man (3:38).

The Servant Christology, like its predecessor the Son of David Christology, is presupposed rather than proclaimed by Paul, but with the profound difference that he endorses and builds upon it. The picture of the "mind of Christ" in Phil. 2:5-11 is that of the Isaian Servant, though the prophecy is not named nor directly appealed to. The characterizations of "meekness and gentleness" are the only ones applied by Paul to Christ (II Cor. 10:1). The very terms are unknown to Mark. But they are typical of the Servant. Paul refers to the "promises of the prophets in the holy Scriptures" (Rom. 1:2). His central gospel is that Jesus was "delivered up for our trespasses, and raised for our justification" (Rom. 4:25; *cf.*

[1] The review of Jewish history in the speech ascribed to Paul in Acts 13:16-41 is made in the interest of a Son of David Christology. The promises to David are fulfilled in Jesus. This is one reason for questioning its authenticity. Another is that it repeats the arguments of Peter in 2:22-36.

Is. 53:12). Such references would be unintelligible were we not also told that Paul "received" this gospel, how that "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures" (I Cor. 15:3); for nowhere does Paul on his own account refer to the prophecy of the suffering Servant, nor does he in a single instance employ the title in application to Christ. Jesus is to him always the "Son" (υἱός), never the "Servant" (παῖς) of God. This would hardly be the case if Paul's own Christology were distinctively that of the Isaian prophecies, often as he builds upon them. In Paul the Servant Christology is presupposed.

3. Almost the same might be said as to the Son of Man Christology in Paul. We have seen that it is fundamental to the Thessalonian Epistles, and it may be said in a way to underlie the transcendental Christology of the later Epistles. But nowhere does Paul appeal to the prophecies of Daniel. Scarcely do we even find them employed. He is far from using apocalypse as he uses Isaiah. Daniel is scarcely reflected outside the Thessalonian Epistles. The title Son of Man is nowhere applied to Jesus. At the utmost "the heavenly man," the "second Adam" (I Cor. 15:45-49; Phil. 2:6), may be said to show a faint reflection of it. The Son of Man Christology, accordingly, is also only presupposed in Paul, and tends to disappear in the later Epistles. It cannot be called his own.

In all but the name, it has been well said, Paul's Christology is a Logos doctrine like the Johannine. In reality it is an incarnation doctrine hypostatizing the creative, revealing, and redemptive "Wisdom of God," which in the Wisdom literature (more especially Wisdom of Solomon) is merely personified. Naturally it is not developed in its metaphysical aspects until after Paul's death in the time of controversy with Phrygian philosophy. In the Ephesian Gospel we find it in its maturity.

From the Epistles we turn to the Gospels. Here it is at once apparent that the Pauline Logos doctrine, a Christology implying real preëxistence, is absolutely confined to the Fourth Gospel, a work shown by its affinity with the Epistles to have been constructed largely for the purpose of bringing out this "higher Christology" against Docetic heresy. Synoptic Christology, as has been pointed out repeatedly, is an apotheosis doctrine. It ignores the incarnation theory of Paul and the Fourth Gospel. As compared with Paul and John the Synoptic group form a unit. As compared with one another, however, they differ. Luke and Matthew stand together by their doctrine of virgin birth, carrying back the divinity of Jesus to his human origin, but not before it. They thus avoid the opening to Adoptionism afforded by Mark. For, whether so intended or not,

Mark's representation of the ministry as beginning with the baptism, when Jesus, after his endowment with the Spirit, "began to do miracles and to reveal the Unknown Father" played into the hands of Cerinthus and other Docetists and Adoptionists. These, as Irenaeus informs us, made this Gospel their sole authority, because of its failure to carry back this endowment with the Spirit to the birth of Jesus. Unquestionably primitive tradition supported Mark in beginning at the Baptism. But we may well believe that the coincidence of Matthew and Luke in the miraculous birth, the only point of coincidence of their infancy narratives apart from the location of it in Bethlehem, is due to a common desire to counteract tendencies toward Adoptionism.[2]

The Christology of Mark therefore is more primitive than that of either Matthew or Luke. Nevertheless it is by no means primary. Indeed it presupposes factors identical with some presupposed by Paul, and in almost the same relation. Mark manifestly knows the Son of David Christology, though his attitude toward it is even more hostile than Paul's. To Mark as well as Paul it is a Christhood "after the things of men." Peter in giving expression to its ideal makes himself the mouthpiece of Satan (8:33). The people who welcome Jesus to Jerusalem with their hosannas to "the Son of David," acclaiming "the kingdom that cometh, the kingdom of our father David," are to Mark's view as blind as Bartimaeus, who both stands among them and is representative of them. Bartimaeus takes the lead in crying out, refusing to be silenced, "Thou Son of David, thou Son of David, have mercy on me." For his faith's sake he is healed; but the story goes on to tell how Jesus wound up his answer to the various faction-leaders, Pharisee, Sadducee, and scribe, by declaring that the teaching that the Christ must needs be the Son of David is a mere invention of "the scribes." David himself in the Spirit saw more clearly. Ps. 110:1 proves the Christ to be one whom God is to exalt to his own right hand. He may or may not be "born of the seed of David according to the flesh"; his authority at all events is not derived from pedigree. It comes from the fact that according to the Spirit of holiness God miraculously proclaimed him Son of God by raising him from the dead and seating him at his own right hand. As against an earthly Son of David Christology this messiahship by apotheosis is Pauline. It lacks indeed the element of preëxistence, and carries us no farther than I Pt. 1:20. But in making exaltation and not descent the criterion

[2] Ignatius in 115 A.D. makes a crude attempt to combine the Matthean Son of David Christology, including a highly mythological version of the Virgin Birth, with the Christology of Paul (*ad Eph.* xv).

it agrees with what Paul defines as his own "Son of God" Christology in Rom. 1:3 f. Thereafter Paul shows by his repeated use of the clause "caused him to sit at his right hand" (Rom. 8:34; Eph. 1:20; Col. 3:1) that it is based on the same Psalm passage which Mark repeats in 12:35-37. Mark gives the debate this supremely significant position, presenting it as Jesus' own definition of his person and authority, because to him it conveys the true and only right Christology. The scribes call him "Son of David" but David himself "in the Spirit" calls him "Lord."

The Son of David Christology is rejected in Mk. 12:35-37 as a delusion of the scribes, which even their own Scriptures show to be false. It is this doctrine (without the term) which is treated as Satanic in 8:33. Jesus is to Mark the Son of God, by which he means something very different from Son of David. If he knew either of the discordant pedigrees of Mt. 1:1-17 and Lk. 3:23-38 he could not fail to disregard them, just as Paul does. For him, as for his contemporary, writing (probably to Rome) at approximately the same date, the heavenly rank of Christ must be like the priest-kingship of Melchizedek, "without father, without mother, and without genealogy" (Heb. 7:3). Mark has small respect for the little caliphate at Jerusalem, whose members are never mentioned in this Gospel save to point out the unworthiness of their conceptions (3:21, 31-35; 6:4; 9:38-40; 10:28-31, 35-45). He has perhaps even less respect for the Son of David Christology. He may be of Jewish birth, but he detests Judaizers. Only rarely is Jesus spoken of as "Lord" or as "the Son" (*sc.* "of God") in Mark. This belongs to Mark's theory of the "hiding of the mystery" from the non-elect. Few save Gentiles (*cf.* 5:19; 7:28) are supposed to appreciate the truth. Nevertheless "Lord" (κύριος) and "Son of God" are the terms Mark himself would choose to define Jesus' authority (Mk. 1:1, 11, 24, 34; 3:11 f.; 5:7, 19; 7:28; 12:35).

The Son of Man Christology is also presupposed in Mark, and is also endorsed as in Paul, but without the reserve of Paul's later, more Hellenistic eschatology. This title, too, like the title "Son of David," appears in Mark as a totally undigested foreign element. The reader receives no explanation whatever. He is expected to know why Jesus speaks of himself as "the Son of Man" (2:10, 28, etc.), just as he is expected to know without explanation why the multitude call him "Son of David." The evangelist is probably not conscious that he has given none; but this only makes it the more certain that the doctrine *is* presupposed, and of no recent growth. Were it recent the necessity of explanation would be felt.

The Eschatological Discourse (chapter 13) is proof sufficient that

Mark goes beyond Paul in his dependence on Daniel. In his Little Apocalypse he combines Daniel with elements of Q. And in Q "the Son of Man" *is* a "favorite self-designation of Jesus." But in what sense? Surely not the apocalyptic, for the Christology of Q is a Servant Christology in Wisdom development. The Works of the Christ are such as proclaim him the Servant. But just as in Wisdom of Solomon the Servant is an incarnation of God's Wisdom. As endowed with the true *gnosis* Jesus is the "Son" who reveals the unknown Father (Mt. 11:25-27=Lk. 10:21 f.). But not even in Q is Jesus ever *spoken of* as the Servant. The baptismal Voice from heaven itself changes the phraseology of Is. 42:1-3 in order to substitute "Son" for "Servant," and the Temptations interpret the title "Son." As we have seen, in Q where Jesus speaks of himself it is as "the Son of Man" (Mt. 11:19=Lk. 7:34). The occurrence of the unexplained title Son of Man in Mark is one of very many indications that the source represented by Q is employed. But we arrive but a single stage further back when we come to Q. Here too the Christology presupposes both a Son of David Christology (Mt. 4:8-10=Lk. 4:5-8) and also a Son of Man Christology, of which little more than the title seems to be retained, perhaps in a universalistic sense; as when in the Lukan pedigree "Adam," not "David," is the "Son of God." But the Q writer's own Christology is an incarnation doctrine. Jesus is the Servant of Jehovah. He is also an incarnation of the revealing and redeeming Wisdom of God. The factors begin to be intelligible, but even Q does not employ one factor only. Its Christology is still composite.

As in Paul the Servant Christology is also present in Mark, and is endorsed. But it does not lie on the surface. It is presupposed, or taken for granted. There is no explanation of Christ's suffering, which is said on two occasions to be "instead" (ἀντί) or "on behalf (ὑπέρ) of many" (10:45; 14:24). The reader must supply from some other source the knowledge that Christ "was delivered up" for the transgression of Israel. Indirectly and incidentally he discovers that a fulfilment of Isaian prophecy is the thread which unites certain elements of Mark's passion story. But in the absence of other documents he would surely find it difficult to make out what was meant by references such as Mk. 9:12b, or Mk. 14:49. Already in Q the title "Servant" had completely disappeared, supplanted by "the Son of Man" and "the Son." In Mark (unlike Q) the Isaian conception itself is obsolescent. Jesus still inculcates the principle *ministrare non ministrari,* rebuking by it the selfish ambition of the Twelve. He avers that he himself by his work (and especially by his death) gives it supreme illustration. But these are

editorial summaries. The reader must go elsewhere for the data which justify them. It is not in Mark but in Q that we find Jesus' work thus characterized. It is not Mark but the Special Source which systematically presents him as fulfilling the Isaian ideal of the Servant. Thus the Servant Christology lies in the background of Mark's thought just as in Paul's. It is not advanced in a creative sense, nor argued as in Q. It is presupposed and endorsed.

In general terms, therefore, and so far as the main factors of the doctrine are concerned, the Christology of Paul and of Mark are the same. Both presuppose and at the same time reject the Son of David Christology of the Jerusalem caliphate, using the same Scripture passage (Ps. 110:1) in opposition to it. Both utilize and endorse the Servant Christology, building upon the fundamental Isaian passages, but without directly appealing to them. Both utilize, and to a greater or less extent endorse the Son of Man Christology; but in Paul's case at least, and probably also in some degree in Mark's, there is modification and universalization of the sense. Both finally rest in the title Son of God as most expressive of the reality. Most of this is true, it would seem, of Q also, while in addition we find here as in Paul, but *not* in Mark, a 'Wisdom' Christology. As an incarnation of the Wisdom of God Jesus does his mighty works and reveals the unknown Father (Mt. 11:2-30=Lk. 7:18-35; 10:21 f.). The Q passage Mt. 11:25-27=Lk. 10:21 f. is justly called "Johannine," for it does involve an incarnation doctrine. But its Christ incarnates not the Logos, but the 'Wisdom' of God.

As we shall see, the broadest divergence comes at this point, for Mark, like the later Synoptists, is destitute of metaphysics; whereas Paul's Christology, like that of Q, is distinctly an incarnation doctrine, as the Ephesian evangelist very well knows. He therefore makes explicit the Logos doctrine which in the Pauline Epistles is only implied. Mark's Christology may perhaps, therefore, in a broad sense be termed Pauline. For such a combination of the primitive Jewish elements, in such proportion and with such result, cannot well be imagined apart from the teaching of Paul. We do not now refer to actual literary employment of the existing Epistles. To these, or to some of them, Mark may, or may not, have had access. That is a question for later determination. But Pauline teaching must have been current when this Gospel was composed. That is an inference which might perhaps be reasonably drawn from the phenomena already advanced. It will become more clearly apparent from the phenomena to which we must next proceed, the speculative Christology of Paul, embodying his conceptions of preëxistence.

These factors unknown to Mark have to do with the Pauline Wisdom or Logos doctrine, and are related on the one side to Q, on the other to the Fourth Gospel. If reflected at all in Mark it is only through embodied sources. But Pauline Christology cannot be defined without an analysis of Pauline metaphysic and its relation to Jewish and Hellenistic ideas.

Paul insists on limiting his thought of Jesus to the operation of God "in" him, just as he considers his own life to be "Christ living in" himself. Jesus was the expected Messiah simply as he brought to completion the redemptive work of God for humanity, which "according to the scriptures of the prophets" was to be accomplished through Israel, God's Servant, chosen to make His name known and his law observed throughout the universe of personal being. Through the agency of Christ God restores the true and filial relation of the world to himself. He does this in the first instance by "delivering him up" to the cross. For only so, according to Paul, could God forgive ("justify") even the ungodly. They must come to him as adherents of Jesus, embued with the same spirit. But without the resurrection the cross would have been useless. To begin with, there would be no heavenly Intercessor to plead for sinners before the throne of divine justice. Forgiveness would be lacking. We should be "yet in our sins" (I Cor. 15:17). More important still, we should be powerless to live the Godlike life, even though knowing and appreciating it. To live this "spiritual" life one must have an infusion of the Spirit of God. This is as indispensable as the inbreathing of the breath of life into Adam. With the new life conveyed by this Spirit from heaven the believer is "created again in the 'image.' " He becomes a Son of God, "conformed to the 'image' " of God's Son. Thus Christ becomes a second, spiritual Adam, "the firstborn of many brethren." He is made a life-giving spirit. The second, spiritual creation is accomplished, for which the present creation, subjected to a false control ("vanity"=Hebr. *aven,* that is, the opposite of divine control), still groans and travails in pain, waiting for the adoption, the bringing of all personality into the filial relation to God. This is the "manifestation of the sons of God."

All this is brought about through the gift of the Spirit. Hence it is this gift of the Spirit, sent down from heaven after Christ's resurrection, which constitutes the essence of Redemption and God's triumph, through his Messiah, over the powers of darkness and death. It is Christ's own spirit; for it is that which made him what he was, characterizing his life. At the same time it is God's Spirit, for it is the Spirit of Adoption which made Jesus the Firstborn,

and endows those who receive it with power to become like him. Paul ascribes "miracles," "prophecy," "tongues," "knowledge" (γνώσις), and other "spiritual gifts" to the possession of this divine Spirit, as did others in his time. Many were so impressed with these more spectacular phenomena that they forgot the more essential, "abiding" gifts of moral quality, faith, hope, and, supremely, love. For it is the moral gifts which produce the Christlikeness, and which must therefore be regarded as representing the redemptive design. At Corinth preference for the spectacular gifts was a common fault. It was doubtless equally common at Rome, and it is certainly characteristic of the Gospel of Mark. We have seen that it is much less characteristic of the Second Source, and we may have occasion to see other embodied material in Mark which differs from the evangelist's point of view. But our present task concerns the Pauline Christology and the basis on which it rests. Everything in it depends on "the Gift of the Spirit."

Needless to reiterate that Paul's doctrine of justification rests upon the Isaian doctrine of the suffering Servant. He explicitly testifies that he "received" it. We have every reason to regard it as primitive. It almost certainly roots itself in the religious experience of Peter after his denial and "turning again," and is at all events dominant in the stream of tradition particularly associated with Peter's name.

Paul's doctrine of Sanctification or Life in the Spirit is more distinctively his own. It is argued, not presupposed. Still it is perhaps even less understood than his doctrine of justification through the cross, difficult as that has been found. In both cases the most hopeful method is the genetic. One must trace out the factors, and in the case of Paul's doctrine of Life in the Spirit Jewish literature furnishes the more important parallels, much as we may owe to modern studies in comparative religion which place in the foreground the Hellenistic "mysteries."

Paul's Incarnation doctrine, and especially his doctrine of immortality as the aim of creation (II Cor. 5:5), has undoubted affinities with Wisdom of Solomon (*cf.* Sap. 1:13 ff.; 2:23 f.). It probably takes something of its phraseology, possibly even of its content, directly from contemporary mystery-religion. But it should not escape our notice that the rabbinic theology in which Paul was brought up, especially the more liberal type of Pharisaism represented by such names as Gamaliel, is not wholly lacking in the fundamental ideas which constitute the essence of Paul's "gospel." Also we may do well to note that there are two types of primitive

Christian literature, practically unrepresented in Mark, which preserve elements identical with these.

Paul's doctrine of the creative, revealing, and redemptive Spirit of God incarnate in Jesus is essentially a Wisdom doctrine. We find the same throughout the Wisdom literature, but especially in Wisdom of Solomon. Israel is here the "just man" of Plato, in the form of the suffering Servant of Isaiah, the "Son of God" (Sap. 2:13-23). By his knowledge (of God) he redeems the world (2:13, 22; 3:8 f.). The great leaders of Israel, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Solomon, were embued with this wisdom-spirit from God which makes men "friends of God and prophets," and is in its nature "near to immortality." The "servants" or "sons" of God thus become the redeemers of the world, though no trace appears in Wisdom of Solomon of that individual Servant-Son, who should be supreme agent of God in this redemptive task. In Q we have many points of contact with this conception, in particular the utilization of the Isaian Servant-ideal in conjunction with that of the revealing "Son." This, as we have seen, is the distinctive Christology of Q. It is as remote as possible from the Son of Man, or apocalyptic, Christology, so that the use of the title Son of Man in Q seems a foreign, alien element, not explicable unless the term is used in some adapted sense. Some Lukan passages (3:38; 10:30-37) suggest a universalistic or humanitarian sense as that imposed upon it, much as moderns have attempted to do.

Another New Testament writing which the skill and industry of Prof. J. H. Ropes has now fully demonstrated to be of the characteristic Wisdom type is the so-called Epistle of James, which can hardly be said to contain a Christology, and whose soteriology is so peculiar that critics such as Massebieau and Spitta have denied altogether its Christian origin, regarding it as a slightly retouched Jewish Wisdom tract. Nevertheless while the writer's interest is (as usual in the Wisdom writings) concentrated on the practical side of religion, subordinating doctrine to practical morality, the Epistle has a distinct soteriology of its own, whose relation to the general Wisdom ideal is interesting and significant.

Redemption, individual and social, is accomplished according to James, it is true, by means of a "royal law," a "perfect law of liberty," which may be used as a mirror of the soul, to correct its defects (Jas. 1:23-25; 2:8). In this our Christian 'diatribe' (for the "Epistle" belongs really to the class of Cynic or Stoic homilies) stands quite in line with that element of the Wisdom literature which is by far the more conspicuous, and which we may designate

"gnomic." It prescribes the "way" or "walk" of life, and corresponds to the *halakha* ("walk," "conduct") of Synagogue teaching. But the poetic element, embodying the dream and hope of the writer, his aspiration and ideal, his "gospel," is not absent. In the Wisdom literature this 'gospel' element appears almost invariably in poetic form, corresponding to the nature of its content; so that the term "lyric" may well be used to distinguish it from "gnomic" Wisdom, the Wisdom of 'law.' In James the soteriology comes out in the opening exhortation to pray unwaveringly for the heavenly gift of "wisdom," which God bestows generously on all that ask, disregarding ill-desert. As Giver of all good, who like the sun sends down universal blessing, God thus makes of men a sort of firstfruit harvest from his creation. The "word of truth" is the procreative agent sown in the soil of men's minds. Men receive this "implanted word," and by obedience to it are saved and made friends of God. The "Wisdom that cometh from above" is thus the agent of man's salvation. Pure and peace-loving it is easy to be entreated, characterized by "meekness," and bringing forth the fruit of righteousness in peace (3:13-18; *cf.* I Cor. 13:4 ff.). Wisdom, as thus conceived, is far more than knowledge or precept. It is not letter of law, but a God-given spirit. Nowhere in the New Testament have we such close affinity as in James with the ideal of the Higher Righteousness of the Sermon on the Mount, nowhere so many reflections of this great Q discourse. Also there is real though subtle affinity with Paul's doctrine of Life in the Spirit. However deeply hidden, the Redemption doctrine is not wholly wanting in James. It is that of Christianized Jewish Wisdom. The Spirit of the Father sent down to dwell in men is their sanctification and peace. Here is fundamental kinship with Paul, however remote in other respects this writer may be from Paul's point of view.

If now we turn from these Hellenistic, Graeco-Hebraic writings to those of the Palestinian Synagogue, we shall find a corresponding distinction between law and gospel, precept and faith. The poetry of national aspiration centres upon the story of redemption embodying the history of Israel as Jehovah's Servant, and forecasting the achievement of the divine ideal. Haggadic teaching is all concerned with this, the very term *haggada* ("narrative," "tale") conveying the suggestion of the redemptive drama. Its complement, *halakha,* "precept," "commandment," we have already defined. Both are included under the term *Torah,* "revelation," "teaching." Many take the word *torah* to mean mere "commandment," just as they are blind to the poetry of Wisdom, and think only of the dry

proverbs of gnomic Wisdom. But let us hear the protest of Schechter in *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology,* p. 117 (1923):

The term *Law* or *Nomos* is not a correct rendering of the Hebrew word *Torah.* The legalistic element, which might rightly be called the Law, represents only one side of the Torah. To the Jew the word Torah means teaching or instruction of any kind. It may be either a general principle or a specific injunction, whether it be found in the Pentateuch or in other parts of the Scriptures, or even outside of the canon. The juxtaposition in which *Torah* and *Mitzwoth,* Teaching and Commandments, are to be found in the rabbinic literature implies already that the former means something more than merely the Law. Torah and Mitzwoth are a complement to each other, or, as a Rabbi expressed it, "they borrow from each other, as wisdom and understanding—charity and lovingkindness—the moon and the stars," but they are not identical. To use the modern phraseology, to the rabbinic Jew Torah was both an institution and a faith.

To confirm Schechter's important distinction between Torah and Mitzwah it is only needful to apply it to the great Isaian definition of Israel's mission to the world as Jehovah's Servant (Is. 42:1-4). He is sent "to declare *mitzwah* to the Gentiles." Not through strife or violence, but in meekness and healing gentleness he will send forth precept (*mitzwah*) to its triumph, and the Isles (of Greece) shall wait for his divine revelation (*torah*). The sentiment is that of Dt. 4:6-8.

Israel, or at least the Pharisees, who "compassed heaven and earth to make one proselyte," were not oblivious of this mission to the world, that Jehovah's name might be sanctified universally, and the sovereignty of his will be extended throughout earth even as in heaven. To continue Schechter's interpretation of the ideal of Torah (p. 133):

If you will not make known my divinity (divine nature) to the nations of the world, even at the cost of your lives [the martyrs are known to adherents of the Synagogue as "those who went through fire and through water for the sanctification of the Name"], you shall suffer for this iniquity, said God. Though indeed the whole of creation has the duty to join in his praise and to bear witness to his divinity (divine power), Israel is especially commanded to invite all mankind to serve God and to believe in him, even as Abraham did, who made God beloved by all the creatures. And so intensely should we love him (as required by the *Shema*) that we should also make others love him. For those who make God beloved by mankind are much greater than the mere lovers of him (as Israelites are called in II Esdr. 6:58). By this acceptance of the Torah, Israel made peace between God and his world, the ultimate end being that its influence will reach the heathen too, and all the gentiles will one day be converted to the worship of God; for the Torah "is not the Torah of the Priests, nor the Torah of

the Levites, nor the Torah of the Israelites, but the Torah of Man (Torath ha-Adam), and its gates are open to receive the righteous nation which keepeth the truth and those who are good and upright in their hearts."

It is hardly fair to the great Apostle to the Gentiles, the Pharisee of Pharisees, to think him ignorant of an ideal such as this, or uninfluenced by it. If we recognize here the opening petitions of the Lord's prayer, the spirit of the Teacher who gave his life for the "sanctification of the Name," even as he had given his labor to the establishment of the "sovereignty" ("Kingdom"=*malkuth*) of God—if we recall his parable of the Samaritan who made known "a Torah not of the Priests, nor of the Levites, nor of the Israelites, but a Torah of humanity," even as he called himself "the Son of Man," we ought also to recognize the gospel of Jesus' great convert from the Pharisees, who felt it his special mission "to make God beloved by all the creation," and by its acceptance of "the law of Christ," to "make peace between God and his world."

But if Paul be thus saturated with the Isaian ideal of the Servant who "makes peace between God and his world," suffering "for the sanctification of the Name," why does he not apply this title to Christ? Why does he not speak of him explicitly as "the suffering Servant"? It is because he reserves for Christ a higher title, even as the servant has now become "exalted and very high" (Is. 52: 13; *cf.* Phil. 2: 9). The missionary task falls now to "the Israel of God," and especially to those particularly called to be God's "witnesses" to "the gospel of peace." Christ is "the Spirit" (II Cor. 3: 18). His work in the flesh is done. He is now what he was before "he became poor for our sake." He was then and is now what he manifested himself while on earth to be, "the Wisdom of God, and the Power of God" (I Cor. 1: 24). Christ suffered for our sakes? Yes; but "rather" he was raised again for our justification. For pardon was always ready at God's hand. But mere forgiveness to one not inwardly transformed by the Spirit is inconceivable of a God of righteousness. The indispensable thing secured by the Redeemer is his gift of the Spirit of sons. Therefore Christ is to Paul no longer merely the Servant, but the Firstborn of many brethren conformed to his own likeness by a "new creation." He is the Second Adam, the Son of God.

This redemptive function of the divine Spirit is what the rabbi ascribes to Torah.

For the Torah came down from heaven with all the necessary instruments (for human redemption): humility, righteousness (goodness) and uprightness (*cf.* Mic. 6: 8)—and even her reward was in her. And man has

only to apply these tools to find in the Torah peace, strength, life, light, bliss, happiness, joy, and freedom.[3]

Unfortunately Paul the Pharisee had not fully grasped this as the effect of "the Law." Paul the Christian ascribes this effect to "the Spirit of Adoption" sent down from heaven as the gift of God in Christ, restoring the world to order and peace. Still the idea was probably not wanting to Judaism even at that time; for it is the same which in the Wisdom literature is ascribed to the creative, revealing, and redemptive Spirit of God whose indwelling makes men his "sons." Only, the Synagogue held that Moses brought it down from heaven in the form of Torah, whereas Paul felt it to be incarnate in the person of Christ. Torah and Wisdom are constantly made equivalent in the Wisdom writings (Ecclus. 24:23; Bar. 4:1). It is because Torah is not the letter only but also the spirit; not the requirement only, but also the perception of its sweet reasonableness and the love of it; not law only, but gospel also; not the earthly precept only, but the Spirit of Adoption that brings men to its obedience as sons of the Highest.[4]

Schechter has unfortunately no better term than "Theosophist" for men such as Paul "who had already come under the sway of Hellenistic influences." But to such men the Torah was, as he truly says: "The very expression of God's Wisdom." Such teachers inevitably "would, so far as it is consistent with Biblical notions, elevate it into an emanation of God's essence, and endow it with

[3] Schechter, *ibid.*, p. 135, quoting *Deut. R.*

[4] The Pharisean ideal is admirably reflected in a writing practically contemporary with Paul, the so-called *Book of Jubilees*, or *Little Genesis*. In the opening chapter of this work the author describes Moses' prayer of intercession for the people, after their sin at Horeb (*Jub.* i., 23 ff.). It will be seen from the terms of this prayer that even Pharisaism was not without some consciousness that something more than a commandment was needful, in short that God must "create in them a clean heart and renew a right spirit within them," and thus "write his law in their hearts." The passage is as follows, slightly abbreviated at the close. God answers Moses:

"I know their contrariness and their thoughts and their stiffneckedness, and they will not be obedient till they confess their own sin and the sin of their fathers. And after this they will turn to me in all uprightness and with all their heart and all their soul. And I will circumcise the foreskin of their heart, and the foreskin of the heart of their seed, and I will create in them a holy spirit, and I will cleanse them so that they will not turn away from me from that day unto eternity. And their souls will cleave to me and to all my commandments, and I will be their Father and they shall be my children. And they shall all be called children of the Living God. And every angel and spirit shall know that these are my children and that I am their Father in uprightness and truth, and that I love them (*cf.* Rom. 8:19; Heb. 1:6). . . . Until I descend and dwell with them throughout eternity."

a premundane existence, reaching almost to infinity." Here is in truth the parting of the ways between Christianity and Judaism. Palestinian Pharisaism tended more and more to legalism. It exalted *mitzwah* and lost the higher implications of *Torah*. Hellenistic Pharisaism thought of Torah as "not the Torah of the Israelites, but as the Torah of Man." Both came to realize that not the commandment only, but the strength to fulfil it, must be of that Wisdom which cometh from above as "a good and perfect gift, coming down from the Father of Lights," "implanted" in us, and "able to save our souls, that we might be a kind of firstfruits of the creation." But Palestinian Pharisaism issued in rabbinic Judaism. Hellenistic Judaism passed largely over into the Church.

To appreciate the higher Christology of Paul it is quite as needful to have some knowledge of Pharisaism in its noblest and purest aspirations, both Hebrew and Hellenistic, as to understand all "mysteries." We will not deny that Paul knew the theosophy of Hellenism, still less that Pharisaism in both its phases had long been influenced by Platonic and Stoic thought. But it is surely also true that Paul during all the formative period of his life was "a Hebrew of Hebrews," "a Pharisee of Pharisees," and that at no time of his life did he abandon his inherited point of view.

Before we leave the subject of Paul's redemptive ideal, his "gospel of peace" or "reconciliation of the world," which modern analysis terms his soteriology, we have still one further aspect to consider; for it is here that contact is made on the one side with the particular work of Jesus, on the other with another of those primitive phases of Christology which survive in the discourses of the early chapters of Acts and some other little heeded remnants of ancient Jewish-christian literature, the so-called *Clementine,* or Ebionite, writings, in which systematically the title for Christ is "that Prophet," or more specifically the "Prophet like unto Moses."

Christ as the second Moses predicted in Dt. 18 : 15 plays a central part in the Speech of Stephen (Acts 7 : 17-40), and in quite a series of connected passages, though unknown elsewhere in Synoptic literature. The source from which Luke takes this demonstration that God had sent Jesus as both "a ruler and a judge" just as he had sent Moses, and that both had been at first rejected, only to prove in the end the "Redeemer" (λυτρωτής) sent by God "with the hand of the angel that appeared to him in the bush," can hardly be any other than that from which in Lk. 24 : 19-21 the disciples on the way to Emmaus confess that Jesus had been "a prophet mighty in deed and word (*cf.* Acts 7 : 22) before God and all the people"

and that they had hoped that this was "he who should redeem (λυτροῦσθαι) Israel." The prophecy is recalled again in the Speech of Peter (Acts 3:13-23), where Jesus is spoken of as the Servant (verses 13, 26) in verses 22-24, perhaps an addition to the original form:

> Moses indeed said, A prophet shall the Lord God raise up unto you from among your brethren, like unto me; to him shall ye hearken in all things whatsoever he shall speak unto you. And it shall be that every soul that shall not hearken to that prophet shall be utterly destroyed from among the people. Yea and all the prophets from Samuel and them that followed after, as many as have spoken, they also told of these days.

Now Paul also has his own conception of Jesus as the second Moses, a Redeemer of Israel, though not as "ruler and judge." Paul's conception of the supreme work of Moses is as a Mediator with God. Like the Rabbis he honors Moses because at Horeb, after the people's sin, he went up into the Mount to make intercession on their behalf, offering his own life "for the many," and obtained forgiveness for them. A revelation of God as "merciful and gracious, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin" was there granted to Moses on his request that he might "see the face" of God. Paul recalls this in II Cor. 3:7 ff., speaking of it as a "transfiguration." For the time being Moses' face shone with the reflection of the glory of God, so that until it faded away he was fain to put a veil upon his face, that the children of Israel might not perceive its transiency. In like manner "ministers of the new covenant," says Paul, have a reflection of the glory of the forgiving God. Seen "in the face of Jesus Christ" it is reflected in their own faces. Only, this reflection "as in a mirror" does not fade away. It increases from one degree of glory to another, till we ourselves are transfigured into the very likeness of the glorified Christ (II Cor. 3:18-4:6). There is thus a "ministration (διακονία) of Moses" prefiguring the Christian. In a sense he became the Mediator of a covenant of forgiveness for Israel. But this was a covenant of the letter, which without the Spirit (not given as yet) was not "of life," but "a ministration of death, written and engraven upon stones." Like the Rabbis Paul thinks of the Law which Moses brought as "a schoolmaster,"[5] but for him redemption was not a matter of "the education of God's creatures," but of the gift of the Spirit of Life and righteousness.

Paul also, and more frequently, thinks of Moses in his mediation of Torah as prefiguring Christ in his mediation of the Spirit. In

[5] Schechter, *ibid.*, p. 136, quoting *Gen. R.* 1.

Gal. 3:19 this theme is first touched upon. It comes to fullest expression in Eph. 4:10 ff. where the gifts of the Spirit are contrasted with the gift of the Torah. For according to rabbinic interpretation of the quoted Psalm (Ps. 68:18) Moses when he ascended (Mount Sinai) brought down from heaven this supreme gift of gifts. In the Targum of the Psalm it is Moses who "at Sinai in the holy place" after he had "led the captivity (of Israel in Egypt) captive," "ascended on high" and "gave gifts to the children of men."[6] Or as in *Shabbath* 88b the verse was referred to Moses' capture of the bride whom Israel wedded at Sinai, the Torah. For Moses, it was said, "ascended to heaven and captured the Torah, in spite of the resistance of the angels, who were most reluctant to allow this treasure to be taken from among them."[7] For Moses ascended in order to obtain forgiveness for the people's sin, even at the cost of his own life, so that the Targum on Cant. 3:3 makes him say, "I will ascend into the high heavens and intercede for you." But when he descended with the heavenly gift, and pledged Israel by a sacred covenant to observe its commandments Israel's life was committed thereby to the supreme vocation of Moses, that of "making peace between heaven and earth" (*Sanhedrin* 99b).

In Paul also "the gift of Christ" is that "unity of the Spirit which is the bond of peace," making reconciliation between heaven and earth. But it was not won by the ascent of Moses at Sinai to win the Torah from the angels. It was won by Christ, when through the cross he triumphed over the principalities and the powers, making spoil of their treasure.[8] It was won by the eternal Spirit of the

[6] *Lehoz mattenan libnei nasha,* "thou hast given gifts to the children of men." This rendering involves the transposition of two letters in the word *halaq* of the Hebrew text, making it mean "distribute as spoil" instead of "receive" (*laqah*). This change was apparently made on the assumption that it was more suitable for the conqueror to distribute spoil than to receive tribute. Whatever the occasion it is the reading followed by the Peshito and the Greek known to Justin (*Dial.,* xxxix., lxxxvii.). The Targum, in applying the ascension on high to Moses, naturally takes the "gifts to the children of men" to be the Torah given by Moses on his return from the Mount. The sense would hardly have been altered had it been rendered "received a gift for men."

[7] Quoted by Schechter, *ibid.,* p. 130.

[8] This feature of the spoliation of the angels is added in the Colossian parallel (Col. 2:15; *cf.* II Cor. 2:14). Dibelius in his *Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus,* pp. 23 ff., points out that in the heavenly council according to Jewish belief God is always on the side of Israel, while the angels are opposed. It probably appears in this connection because the word meaning "distributed gifts" (*halaq*) is the technical term for the distribution of booty, or "captured" spoil; *cf.* Is. 53:12: "He shall divide the spoil (*halaq*) with (LXX 'of') the mighty ones" (that is, according to early Christian interpretation, the angels).

revealing and redeeming Wisdom of God, which descended to become incarnate in Christ, and in his resurrection ascended far above all the heavens, that he might fill all things. This life-giving Spirit of God, which is no other than the Lord himself, is the unspeakable, infinite gift, distributed through the world by the Church which is his body, as the life-blood is distributed through the channels of the arterial system for the upbuilding of the whole (Eph. 4:1-16).

Much was made in the religious teaching of the Synagogue of the mediation of Moses, whether as offering his life for the forgiveness of the people, "the one for the many" (Ex. 32:31 f.), or as bringing down the Torah from heaven as the basis on which Jehovah would consent to dwell among them, reconciling the world to himself. In rabbinic Judaism there were legends of the ascent of Moses to heaven, in Philo of his transfiguration by the vision of God "after he had been invited to share in divine incorruption," in the Wisdom literature applications of the passage Dt. 30:12 f. about ascending to heaven to bring the Torah thence, or procuring it from beyond the sea, which recall and show the significance of Paul's saying in Rom. 10:6:

> The righteousness which is of faith saith thus: Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down:) or, Who shall descend into the abyss? (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead). But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart: that is, the word of faith, which we preach.

One must place alongside of this, to appreciate what sort of spiritual Christ this is of which Paul speaks, the passage from Bar. 3:29:

> Who hath gone up into heaven and taken her [Wisdom] and brought her down from the clouds? Who hath gone over the sea and found her, and will bring her for choice gold? . . . [God] hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob his servant, and to Israel that is beloved of him. After this did she appear upon earth, and was conversant with men.

As the divine Spirit of Wisdom Christ may be said to have descended from heaven when, becoming poor for our sakes, and "taking on him the form of a slave,"[9] he was "sent forth (by the Father) born of a woman, born under the Law." Paul applies the passage of Deuteronomy about the Torah in heaven and on earth

[9] The expression belongs to the Servant Christology and is taken from Is. 53:11, LXX: *δίκαιον εὖ δουλεύοντα πολλοῖς* "the Just one, who became a good slave for many."

to the "spiritual" Christ, because he thinks of the work of Jesus supremely as the work of bringing down from heaven to earth that sweet spirit of order, love, and good-will which belongs to heaven, and alone can bring about the kingdom of God on earth when it pervades humanity. The Lord *is* this Spirit (II Cor. 3:17), hence language applicable to it can be applied to him. One need not seek to bring him up from the dead or down from heaven (Rom. 10:6), but his spirit must fill the earth. Thus, and thus alone can God be reconciled to his world, and the world to God. This gospel applies both to the individual, and to the social order. The gift of the Spirit —himself—is what makes Jesus a true "Christ," a divine Savior of humanity. He must (spiritually) be brought down from heaven, as Baruch says of Wisdom, and the Rabbis of the Torah.

But the Incarnation is not the whole of the Gospel. The Atonement is at least equally essential. Jesus, who (as we have it in I Pt. 3:18-22) "was put to death indeed in the flesh, but in the spirit was made alive . . . through the resurrection" is "on the right hand of God, having gone into heaven, angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him." Paul also speaks of "bringing up (the spiritual) Christ" from the depths, as Baruch uses the Torah passage in application to bringing Wisdom from beyond the sea, because it was as a resurrection gift that through him the Spirit was sent forth from the Father of Lights.[10] But the bringing down and the bringing up again are not a still unsolved problem of redemption. These have been already accomplished. As the Scripture saith, "The word is nigh thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart." It is, says Paul, "the word of faith which we preach." In that gospel there is salvation for all; for the same Lord is Lord of all, and is rich unto all that call upon him: for "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." This is the summary of Paul's "gospel" in Rom. 10:6-13. We shall have occasion later to see how it appears in defending his apostleship, when in II Cor. 3:6-6:10 he compares "the ministry of the new covenant" with "the ministration of Moses" in obtaining forgiveness, and bringing down from heaven the gift of the Torah. For according to Paul "life and immortality were brought to light through the gospel" (II Tim. 1:10).[11]

We have attempted thus to give that Incarnation doctrine which is the foundation of Paul's Christology, becoming the Logos doc-

[10] With this expression of Jas. 1:17 *cf.* Bar. 3:33-37.

[11] Passages from the Pastoral Epistles can be quoted only as Deutero-Pauline. In the present case the doctrine is not in question, hence the citation may be used for illustrative purposes.

trine in the Ephesian Gospel, although it finds no direct reflection in Mark or later Synoptic tradition, because the Pauline Christology is unintelligible without it. But we have already seen that it is no original invention of Paul's. It is the Wisdom doctrine of the Hellenistic Synagogue, the Torah doctrine of the Rabbis. In Christian form it finds clear expression in the Q material, especially the Hymn of Wisdom Mt. 11:25-27=Lk. 10:21 f., whether this be earlier or later than Paul. Fortunately a statement made by Clement of Alexandria concerning the Hellenistic writing of *ca.* 100 known as *The Preaching of Peter* enables us to say with certainty that this equivalence we have described between the spiritual Christ, Wisdom and Torah, is not mere fancy. Even the term Logos was probably current at an earlier date than the Fourth Gospel, and almost certainly in independence of it. For in three separate passages (*Strom.* I, xxix. 182; II, xv. 68, and *Ecl. proph.* 58) Clement tells us that in the *Preaching* the Lord was spoken to and spoken of as "Law and Word" (λόγος καὶ νόμος, that is Logos and Torah). Recognizing candidly that the Christology of Mark is not Pauline in the sense of setting forth this Incarnation doctrine, even in its earliest forms—for the Voice from heaven at the Baptism relates only to election, not to preëxistence—we have still to enquire whether the embodied sources are equally without indication of it. As a western product the Roman Gospel could hardly be expected to deal comprehendingly with oriental mysticism. But it does not follow that the sources it incorporates, essentially Jewish as they are, should have no affinity with this subtler type of Paulinism. To this question of Indirect Pauline Influence we must next address ourselves.

CHAPTER XVIII

PAULINE INFLUENCE (a) INDIRECT

Acquaintance of Mark with double-tradition material (Q) is a widely accepted result of the critical analysis of this Gospel, and in the study we have given to the question of its sources this result has been corroborated and extended. We have found a considerable body of evidence to prove the systematic use by Mark of the Special Source of Luke. The exact relation of this source to the 'double-tradition' material remains more or less obscure, and we have also found reason to think Luke used it in a later form than that known to Mark. He certainly combined with it another narrative, inferior and dependent, a source which perhaps combined Mark and the Special Source in a manner preluding Luke's own. Leaving the obscurities for such further light as advancing science may bring, and limiting ourselves to the generally accepted results, the question of the date of Mark will necessarily involve at this point the date of the sources employed by this evangelist, partly identical with Luke's. For whether we speak of certain material characterized in a certain way and for convenience labelled Q, or of sources from which this material, as well as other material differently characterized, must have been derived, the analysis of Mark has shown that various elements *are* distinguishable. Some factors of the work are basic, others superimposed. In geological terms we are not dealing with igneous rock, where all has been melted into a uniform mass, but with clearly stratified deposits, at least one of which can be brought into relation with one of the sources of Luke, if not precisely identified with it. Determination of the date of the ultimate complex will to some extent be determined by the date of this and other factors. Pauline teaching, as represented in the great Epistles of 50-60 A.D. being the chronological point of departure, our task involves comparison of the factors of Mark with this system of teaching, to determine (so far as possible) whether interrelation exists, and if so the side on which priority lies.

Among the elements intrinsically foreign to the character of Mark, and by their position and otherwise showing themselves to be superimposed, are two of closely kindred character, unmistakably Jewish. One of these, at least, seems distinctly to reflect the characteristic beliefs of Paul, beliefs so clearly based on his individual

religious experience that they cannot otherwise be accounted for, and therefore must necessarily imply a later date in documents which employ or reflect them. The two elements referred to are the interpretative stories prefixed respectively to the first and second parts of Mark, which set forth under the device of vision and voice from heaven the "spiritual" (that is, externally invisible and inaudible) significance of the story related in the sequel. For while it appears probable that the evangelist personally takes the scenes described after the baptism of Jesus and after his acknowledgment by Peter as "the Christ" in 1:9-11 and 9:2-10 respectively as literal and concrete fact, no student of contemporary Synagogue teaching can fail to recognize in the literary forms of vision and *bath qol,* or "voice from heaven," the characteristic methods employed at the time for expressing "spiritual" perception.

The western world has developed through ages of philosophical discussion a terminology of abstractions enabling it to express ideas pertaining to the invisible world in a scientific, or at least metaphysical, vocabulary. The oriental world is still, especially in its religious literature, at the poetic or mythopoetic stage, in which the imagination is called upon to furnish, under the forms of parable, fable, vision, or dream, the vehicle for the conveyance of the idea from mind to mind. The auditor (or reader) accustomed to this method feels no difficulty. Poetic convention is to him so familiar that he scarcely observes the transition as his mind is carried from the realm of the abstract to the concrete and back again. Let us suppose the point to be the conviction "borne in upon" some man of God. The Synagogue teacher declares, "An angel said to so and so, Do this or that," or "The prophet saw this or that in vision," or "heard it in a voice from heaven." The hearer (or reader) does not ask what the angel looked like, whether he had wings or not. He does not ask whether the "daughter of a voice" sounded like thunder, or like a whisper. It does not occur to him to raise such questions, simply because he knows this is quite inmaterial and beside the point. Equally irrelevant would be questions about the inn-keeper's appearance or costume in the parable of the Good Samaritan. The disciple gets the *idea* (which is simply that to the "spiritual" eye or ear things would thus appear) and forgets all about the vehicle which conveyed it. Was it imagination, or fact? The question almost bewilders him. Was the murder of Hamlet's father fable or fact? Who knows, or cares? It was the poetic (or religious) truth that mattered, and that the reader grasps.

Such is the nature of "The Midrash and its Poetry" as described by one of the greatest of Synagogue teachers of our own times. The

chapter under this title in I. Abraham's *Short History of Jewish Literature,* 1906, should be read in its entirety. We may quote only his definition:

> Midrash ('study,' 'enquiry') was in the first instance an *explanation of the Scriptures.* The explanation is often the clear, natural exposition of the text, and it enforces rules of conduct both ethical and ritual [halacha]. Midrash often penetrates [also] below the surface; and, while seeming to depart from the letter of the text, attempts to reach its spirit. In the Talmudic phrase Midrash is a hammer which wakes to shining life the sparks slumbering in the rock. The historical and moral traditions which clustered round the incidents and characters of the Bible soon received a more vivid setting. The poetical sense of the Rabbis expressed itself in a vast and beautiful array of legendary additions to the Bible, but the additions are always devised with a moral purpose, to prove motive or to analyze character, to give point to a preacher's homily or to inspire the imagination of the audience with nobler fancies. Besides being expository, the Midrash is, therefore, also didactic and poetical, the moral being conveyed in the guise of a *narrative* [haggada], amplifying and developing the contents of Scripture. The Midrash gives the results of that deep searching of the Scriptures which became second nature with the Jews, and it also represents the changes and expansions of ethical and theological ideals as applied to a changing and growing life.

Scarcely one of the great interpreters of the Gospels who brought to the task thorough acquaintance with contemporary teaching methods of the Synagogue has failed to be impressed with the close affinity between gospel story and Midrash. Again and again has the resemblance been noted; and naturally enough, since the teaching methods of the primitive Church were nothing else save adaptations of Synagogue methods. But hard-headed occidentals are slow to take in the poetry of the East. Not even Plato is allowed ungrudgingly his favorite adaptation of mythology. Moderns think he should have restricted himself to metaphysics and matter of fact. Clement, a well-read Alexandrian, and one who himself delights in allegory and symbolism, tells the story of the aged John and the Robber (a patent allegory on the two parables of the Shepherd seeking the Lost Sheep and the Lost Son "dead and alive again," in Lk. 15: 3-7, 11-32), and says in so many words that the story was related as a "myth."[1] Yet from Eusebius down well-nigh every borrower disregards the *caveat* and submits the story as report of fact, instead of expression of truth.

We need feel no surprise, therefore, if a typical western evangel-

[1] Μῦθον οὐ μῦθον ἀλλὰ ὄντα λόγον, that is, "A tale; yet not a mere tale, but one which conveys a true idea." Clement thinks it may be fact, but knows that the originator aimed to give not fact, but truth.

ist, systematically bent on picturing to the eye the wonders which to his mind are the chief proofs of the divine mission of Jesus, and systematically indifferent to the teaching, should take as literal matter of fact the *midrashoth* of vision and voice from heaven which in his Jewish sources had been related to convey the "spiritual" meaning of the two most momentous crises of the story. It is one of the proofs that these two sections at least (Mk. 1:9-11 and 9:2-10) are borrowed by Mark from sources produced in the atmosphere of the Synagogue, that besides their standing outside, or interrupting, the context, their intrinsic meaning is so unperceived by him. Whether the source (or sources) can be identified or not is of less importance to our present enquiry than this intrinsic meaning, and the relation (if relation there be in either case) to the teaching of Paul.

The present writer has set forth elsewhere his conception of the process by which Pauline religious ideas were grafted upon primitive gospel story, though he can find no better designation for it than "the Paulinizing of Petrine tradition."[2] Briefly, gospel story, whether of the sayings or doings of Jesus, had in the earlier times no other witness to cite than Peter. All evangelic report was "Petrine" in the sense of being invariably carried back to Peter as centre of the group of disciples. In large degree this must have represented real fact. We have the unimpeachable witness of Paul (Gal. 2:7) that Peter was regarded as charged from the very first in preëminent degree with this witness, and did in fact live up to the trust (I Cor. 9:5), though consenting, after hearing of Paul's special commission, to limit himself to "the circumcision." The exceptions to the rule that gospel tradition is "Petrine" are more apparent than real. The association of the name of "Matthew" with our first canonical Gospel cannot be traced back earlier than 140, and however originated is certainly incorrect. Hence it may best be disregarded entirely. "John" is a patronymic for still later developments.

But churches founded before the great Missionary Journeys of Acts 13:1 ff., churches which looked to Jerusalem as their mother, and to Peter as their great evangelizer ("apostle"), came into unavoidable rivalry with those of the Greek-speaking world, most of which had Paul or his associates as their founders, and all of which looked to Paul as their chief spokesman and authority. As we learn from the Epistles, this rivalry brought into the foreground comparisons (more or less odious) between the claims of Peter and

[2] *Jesus and Paul*, New York, 1920, pp. 154-167, and *Religion and the Future Life*, edited by E. H. Sneath, New York, 1922, pp. 263-283.

Paul respectively. Gal. 2:1-21 lays bare the full extent of this unfortunate development, which in Acts is assiduously concealed. It involved (1) the apostleship of Paul, a dispute in which Paul made his own authority equal to Peter's by laying all emphasis on inward religious experience. Paul insisted on the divine revelation of the risen and glorified Christ "in" him, and ignored knowledge of "a Christ after the flesh," minimizing mere acquaintance with the "sayings and doings" which associates of Jesus' ministry could report with far more authority than he. It involved (2) his "gospel," which likewise laid all stress on "the word of the cross," minimizing "commandments," or interpretations of Christianity as a higher and better Law. Both "apostleship" and "gospel" of Paul are vehemently defended in Galatians. Both remain fundamental. But the later correspondence shows a difference in development. At Corinth, where the conflict over Paul's apostolic authority reached its culmination, we naturally find the fullest defence of the "ministry of the new covenant," the broader term under which Paul includes his associates below the rank of "apostles." In writing to the Romans, among whom Paul wished to come as a visiting brother rather than with the authority of "a father in Christ," it is naturally his "gospel," suspected in many quarters as antinomian, which comes into the foreground for explanation and defence. At a later time, when incipient Gnosticism was threatening the "churches of Asia," Paul defends a particular element of his gospel, the doctrine of a risen Redeemer, which seemed to be endangered by Hellenistic theosophy. Hence he develops a Christology more or less tinged with Hellenistic metaphysics in the twin letters Ephesians-Colossians. The so-called Missionary Epistles, addressed to the Thessalonians, and concerning themselves with a somewhat undeveloped form of eschatology, have already been sufficiently discussed for present purposes, and need not here be further considered. These Epistles add a Son of Man doctrine to the Servant doctrine Paul had received (I Cor. 15:3). We have already seen something of this Christological development in Paul and can fix approximately the date of its formulation. We are now called upon to place in comparison with the Pauline the Christology of certain portions of Mark.

The question of Pauline influence on Mark is still hotly debated. The older, radical school of Volkmar and Holsten were convinced by the general doctrinal characteristics of the Gospel that its author distinctly aimed "to cover Paul with the shield of Jesus" (Holsten). A great body of recent critics follow the more moderate judgment of H. J. Holtzmann that "here and there anecdotes ap-

pear which as regards both form and content seem to have passed through the medium of the Pauline atmosphere.'' Among those who hold to the Pauline bent of this evangelist appear the great majority of German critics of the first rank, including such names as Pfleiderer, Johannes Weiss, Jülicher, and Harnack, and (on the specific point of ''The Christology of Mark'') W. Brückner.[3] More recently still the brilliant A. Schweitzer in his *Geschichte der Leben Jesu Forschung* (1913, p. 336) has peremptorily denied that the Gospel of Mark shows any trace whatever of Pauline influence. This view has been endorsed by Wernle, and in 1923 Martin Werner, a *privatdocent* at the University of Bern, has endeavored to establish it by a very thorough study both philological and biblico-theological entitled *Der Einfluss paulinischer Theologie im Markusevangelium*. The issue of Werner's enquiry is stated by him as follows:

> Whether the Mark of our second Gospel be identified with the companion of Paul or not, a comparison of his writing with the Pauline Epistles today generally acknowledged as authentic gives the following result:
>
> 1. Where Mark agrees with Paul the matter in question always consists of primitive Christian ideas universally current.
> 2. Wherever we find in the Epistles distinctive, characteristic Pauline views which transcend this common basis, parallels are either completely wanting in Mark, or we find a directly contradictory standpoint.
> 3. Accordingly there cannot be the slightest idea of an influence of Pauline theology in the Gospel of Mark.

If the matter were a mere question of Pauline expressions directly taken over from the Epistles, or even of the adoption of those fine elements of Paulinism such as his doctrine of Life in the Spirit, or his careful avoidance of expressions suggesting a substitutionary view of the atonement (*cf.* the ἀντί of Mk. 10:45), ideas quite beyond the reach of the average Christian who only heard the rumors reported by James as the teaching of Paul (Acts 21:21), Werner's sweeping judgment might be considered borne out by the evidence adduced. As it is we must recall the form of the statement already quoted from the *Commentary* to the effect that ''denial (of the Paulinism of Mark) can only rest on misconception of the really distinctive feature.'' The Paulinism of Mark appears in the selection and adaptation of material, the omissions counting even more than the inclusions. It is not a matter of borrowed words and phrases, but ''is supremely manifest in this evangelist's whole conception of *what constitutes the apostolic message.*'' The Paulin-

[3] In *Protestantische Monatshefte*, 1900, p. 426 ff.

ism of our Second Gospel is that which we have designated "Paulinistic" rather than Pauline, and is distinguished from the actual teaching of the Apostle as Paul himself distinguishes his own teaching from the doctrine of those at Corinth who under the cry "I am of Paul" showed far too little consideration for the "weak" follower of Peter. The nature and character of the Paulinism of Mark require first to be considered before applying the microscopic tests of philology, and it should not be forgotten that the Paulinists of Corinth, in spite of their failure to exhibit those "distinctive, characteristic Pauline views which transcend the common basis of primitive Christian ideas in universal currency," nevertheless did not call themselves "of Cephas," or "of Christ," but "of Paul." Without the teaching of Paul their particular type of thought would not have existed, though Paul himself did not approve it.

A further consideration should qualify our judgment of Werner's results, one of which has been presented more fully in the volume *Jesus and Paul* under the cumbrous expression "the Paulinizing of Petrine tradition." Petrine tradition nowhere comes down to us in its original form. All the available sources are colored more or less deeply by a Pauline or Paulinistic medium. This is generally acknowledged in the case of I Peter and the Petrine portion of Acts. It is still more manifestly true in the case of the Pseudo-Petrine writings such as *Preaching of Peter,* with its Christology of Logos and Nomos. What shall we designate "primitive Christian ideas of universal currency"? If we judge merely by Paulinized Petrine tradition of the post-apostolic period, the deutero-Petrine teaching of the Greek-speaking Church, we shall come to a point where it will be impossible to account for the conflicts attested in the great Epistles.

The study already given to the structure and language of Mark brings strong reënforcement to this second consideration. The material of which our second evangelist avails himself is certainly not to be designated in any sense as Pauline. But neither can it be called Petrine in any primitive sense. Behind it lies, no doubt, primitive Aramaic material. But at how great remove? This is a problem almost hopeless of final solution. One thing becomes clearer with each successive step of criticism: the material from which the evangelist draws had already received much of its literary form in a Greek-speaking milieu. We are not carried back to the Aramaic-speaking fisherman of Galilee, but to some "interpreter," who in dependence on the Greek Old Testament adapts it to the use of a Greek-speaking church. He uses documents written in the Greek language, and these documents, even while they retain traces in

abundance of Aramaic originals, have undergone an infiltration of Paulinistic (if not Pauline) ideas. The influence is present even if indirect. Jerome's chimera of the "authentic Hebrew" of the Apostle Matthew is no more certainly a will o' the wisp than the "original Aramaic" of Peter which some imagine to be recoverable by mere retranslation from our Gospel of Mark. What we really come back to is the deutero-Petrine tradition of "sayings and doings of the Lord" already largely translated and written down. And even before this recasting in literary form the teaching had been universalized in a manner corresponding to the Pauline mode of thought. It is this deutero-Petrine tradition embodied in various forms in the sources of our Synoptic Gospels, to which we must now turn. Its two main strands are Mark and Q, and Q has been used by Mark. Will not a comparison of these two strands give some new evidence on the question of date? Shall we not perhaps find traces of Pauline influence of the larger sort in the material antecedent to Mark? The Christology affords the most available ground of judgment.

In the story of Jesus' Baptism the midrashic method is employed to impart to the reader a Wisdom Christology of the Q type based on the Servant ideal of Isaiah. In the Transfiguration story the experience of Peter and his associates is related in similar midrash to convey a Christology more of the Son of Man or apocalyptic type. This "revelation of Peter" is made to embody all the values presented by Paul in II Cor. 3:5-6:10 as characterizing "the ministry (διακονία) of the new covenant" with its promise of immortality by "transfiguration" (μεταμορφούμεθα) into the 'image' of the glorified Christ. This Christology and this soteriology are made basic in the Gospel of Mark by the interjection of the two vision narratives at its two most vital points. But manifestly the doctrine is in neither case a creation of the evangelist.

Mark's own Christology is the doctrine that Jesus is a "Son of God." But he has no incarnation doctrine by which to make this intelligible. His idea seems to be rather adoptionist. It is more simplified than simple. He draws uncomprehendingly from existing sources of Jewish type. In one of these, the source of the Transfiguration story, Peter appears equipped by special revelation from God with insight into the spiritual meaning of the cross, including much which Paul advances in his epistles as a revelation peculiarly his own. The method of presentation is closely parallel to that of Acts 10:1-11:18, where Peter, by similar vision and voice from heaven is taught that distinctions of meats are ordinances of men, and that "in every nation he that feareth God and worketh right-

eousness is accepted of Him.'' Unfortunately for the champions of Peter we know that events really took a very different course. In Galatians Peter knows nothing of any such mission to the Gentiles. Here both he and James and all the leaders at Jerusalem appear to have forgotten facts which as Luke reports them would show that the question of ''eating with men uncircumcised'' had already been settled on Peter's own initiative by official action of the whole Church (Acts 11:1-18).

Whether the account in Acts of Peter's apostleship to the Gentiles be from the same source as the Transfiguration midrash, or some other, the method of procedure is identical. Petrine tradition is here ''Paulinized.'' It is lifted to the level of Paul's transcendental interpretation of the gospel, embodying the thoughts and even to some degree the typical expressions of the great Hellenistic apostle (*μεταμορφούμεθα*, *σκήνη*). In the midrash Peter and his associates take the place of Paul as recipients of the vision eclipsing that of Moses in the Mount of God (II Cor. 3:5-6:10), just as in Acts 10:1-11:18 Peter takes Paul's place as the Apostle to the Gentiles. Doubtless in both midrashoth, Baptism and Transfiguration, Mark has given as usual a mere abridgement of the original; but taking what we have, we may place the two extracts in comparison with the corresponding teaching of Paul.

1. The story of the Baptism of Jesus, with accompanying Vision and Voice from Heaven (Mk. 1:9-11), puts into the form of narrative what is quoted from Is. 42:1-4 independently of the Hebrew in Mt. 12:18-20 to show that in forbidding the healed from making him known Jesus fulfilled this prophecy. As the entire context of Mt. 11:1-12:45 is taken with trifling exceptions from Q it will not be unreasonable to maintain that this quotation also is not of Matthew's personal finding, but is borrowed from Q. For in the context as it stands it is almost grotesquely misapplied. Moreover in its independence of the Greek text it agrees with other quotations from Q[4] rather than with Matthew, who uses the LXX. But even if the quotation in Mt. 12:18-20 be not from the Second Source it will still be undeniable that Mk. 1:9-11, which is of Q material, presents in dramatic form the promise of Is. 42:1-4. Jesus is the Servant chosen of God, the Beloved whom He elected from eternity. God

[4] The Q quotations are marked by great freedom, not only through renderings independent of the LXX, but by free adaptation. Thus the change of Mal. 3:1 to ''thy'' way is deliberate. So in even more marked degree is the change in Mt. 12:21 from ''The isles shall wait for his torah'' to ''The Gentiles shall hope in his name''—a very significant change, but one already effected by the LXX. Verse 21 is perhaps an addition due to our canonical evangelist.

has put His Spirit upon him, that he may carry out His purpose of redemption for the lowly and broken people. Though inconspicuous and unknown he will bring true religion to its triumph in the world, and even the Gentiles will find the goal of their hopes in him.

This is fundamentally the Servant Christology. It has no resemblance to the Son of Man Christology of some other gospel sections, and still less to the Son of David Christology rejected by Paul and Mark. If we add the Temptation Story, which seems to have followed it in Q, there appears to be almost a purposed differentiation from these other types. The Beloved is the agent of the revealing, redeeming Wisdom of God, who makes known His judgments to the lowly, and wins her victories in quietness among these her children. Only (as often in Wisdom of Solomon), the title employed is not Servant, but Son (υἱός) of God. The Servant Christology is here basic, but developed as in the Wisdom writings.

Everywhere and consistently the Q material presents this type of Christology. It comes to complete and full expression in the great section on the Works of Christ (Mt. 11:2-30=Lk. 7:18-35), and this concludes in Mt. 11:25-30 with the so-called "Johannine" passage. For Mt. 11:25-30=Lk. 10:21 f. is a Hymn of Incarnate Wisdom, who invites the meek and lowly to receive her yoke, and thus to find rest for their souls.[5] Yet this cannot be called the Christology of either Paul or Mark. It may be presupposed in both. In fact neither Paul nor Mark would be intelligible if one did not penetrate behind them to a "Petrine" Servant Christology. But neither in Paul or Mark does the Servant Christology lie on the surface. It is only referred to, as in I Cor. 15:3; Mk. 9:12b, or implied, as in Rom. 4:25 ff. or Mk. 14:49. To find it really dominant we must go to I Pt. 1:18-21; 2:21-25 and to a few fragments that survive under the name of Peter, or in some association with that name. Likewise the doctrine of an incarnation of Wisdom plays no part in Mark. It comes to the surface only in Paul and James.

Whether Pauline influence is discernible in Mk. 1:9-11 depends on the delicate question whether the aorist εὐδόκησα, "I elected" should be taken to imply real preëxistence, such as Paul ascribes to Christ (I Cor. 2:11-16; 8:6, reading δι' οὗ, II Cor. 8:9; Phil. 2:5 ff.), or only foreordination, as in I Pt. 1:20 and the Apocalyptic literature. It is indeed difficult to credit Mark with appreciation of the nice distinction between logical and real preëxistence. A similar

[5] See Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 1913, pp. 277-308. Luke has omitted the third strophe (Mt. 11:28-30) as inappropriate to the context in which he has placed the hymn. The invitation of Wisdom cannot well accompany the preaching of the Twelve.

doctrine to that of Mark 1:9-11 appears in Col. 1:19, where real preëxistence is implied. It also appears in the Nazarene Gospel, which makes "the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit" (that is, the source of all the "spiritual gifts") descend and take up its abode in Jesus. But here as in Mark we cannot well go beyond the teaching of I Pt. 1:20. Mark proceeds to describe the "powers" which now made themselves manifest in the Son of God. But the mere occurrence in both Paul and Mark of the titles "the Son," "the Beloved" is not enough to prove direct dependence. Nor is the doctrine present in both passages of the descent of the 'fulness' of the divine powers to abide upon the Son. The aorist εὐδόκησα implies no more than foreordination, as in I Pt. 1:20, not real preëxistence. Both Mark and the source here employed by him (the material belongs to Q) might then be independent of Paul. Accordingly the most that can be said is that Mark here incorporates a source characterized by the Wisdom Christology, a doctrine also built upon by Paul. The revealing heavenly Voice declares the significance of the scenes which are to follow. The Wisdom of God (typified by the dove, whose tender murmuring note is used in Jewish poetry to symbolize the "mourning" of Jehovah over his wayward children)[6] descends to accomplish its saving work through the ministry of Jesus. The work is that of the Isaian Servant, healing, redeeming, life-giving, and like that of the Servant it must issue in rejection and suffering. Yet by his knowledge (of the true God) this righteous Servant "shall justify many." He will ultimately "be exalted and be very high." As the incarnation of that Wisdom which is God's gift to Israel he will be called the Beloved Son, who fulfils the mission of the elect people. In meekness and gentleness, neither breaking the bruised reed nor quenching the spark of a smouldering wick, he will bring forth divine order to the world. Such is the Christology and soteriology which pervades the Q passages, and which has everywhere as its dominant idea the transfusion of the lower world with the spirit of heaven. Baptism, the baptism of the Spirit of adoption, is the rite which most congenially expresses its significance. It naturally emphasizes Jesus' ministry of healing and repentance in Galilee, though (as we know from the Supper-fragment) it also contained its own form of the Son of David Christology, the assurance to those who had shared in Jesus' trials that they should share his triumph in the "city of David." Mark finds but little room in his Gospel for extracts from this source, and even

[6] According to the Rabbis the Voice from heaven is like the cooing of a dove, that is, tender entreaty. So Jehovah "mourns" over the wickedness of Israel which compels him to desecrate his house.

these are chosen chiefly with reference to the mere outward course of events. He has no use for Q Christology, the doctrine of the incarnation of the Wisdom of God in the Servant. This constitutes his widest divergence from Paul.

2. It is no easy matter to decide whether we should ascribe the Revelation of Peter and his associates at the Mount of Transfiguration which prefaces the second part of Mark, explaining the "spiritual" significance of the Passion and Resurrection, to the same source as the Vision at the Baptism, or to some other. In the latter case it would also be difficult to define the relation in which one source would stand to the other. In favor of identity of source is the close resemblance of method. But mutual interdependence would explain this equally well. Against identity is the improbability that the same source should have two *dénouements,* or that if by any possibility it did, these two should not exactly agree. In the Transfiguration vision the Voice from heaven agrees in representing Jesus as the Son, the Beloved (in Luke "the Elect"); but its conception of the saving work of this Son has little resemblance to the Incarnation doctrine of Q. The Transfiguration vision teaches a messiahship by apotheosis. It is nearer to the Son of Man than to the Servant Christology.

To realize the true extent of difference we must consider the purpose for which the second midrash is introduced. Jesus has just revealed himself to Peter and his associates at Caesarea as the suffering and glorified Son of Man. Peter has been rebuked for advancing a doctrine of Christhood "according to the things of men." He and they are now to be taught the truth on divine authority. Moses and Elias, "the men that were taken up, that have not tasted death from their birth"[7] appear in the glorified bodies of the denizens of Paradise "typifying incorruption" (προοιμιαζόμενοι τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν). Such is the doctrine of the Rabbis. "If a *min* (heretic) denies the (bodily) resurrection take the prophet Elias as witness,"[8] says *Yalkut Shime'oni* on Ps. 60:9. Enoch is the Gentile Elijah; for Ben-Sirach, who in Ecclus. 48:10 makes it the function of Elijah "to turn the heart of the Father (God) to the son (Israel), and to restore the tribes of Israel" says in 44:16 that "Enoch was translated in order that he might be an example of (that is, commending) repentance to all generations." Hence in many of the Talmudic

[7] So in Apocalypse (II Esdr. 6:26).

[8] That is, as an example. So in the *Dialogue* of Minucius Felix, the heathen objects to the doctrine of a resurrection body, "In all past centuries none has ever returned as an example." Paul takes the glorified body of Christ as an "example." Christ is the "Firstfruits" ἀπαρχή of the resurrection.

and later forms of the Paradise legend Enoch and Elijah are the "witnesses of incorruption," or "witnesses of Messiah."

For the Messiah also has this function of bringing immortality, and himself, of course, takes the leading part. Says the Jew quoted by Celsus in Origen's well-known work (II, lxxvii): "We do indeed hope that there will be a bodily resurrection, and that we shall enjoy an eternal life; and the example and archetype (*παράδειγμα καὶ ἀρχηγέτης*) of this will be He who is sent to us, who will thus prove that it is not impossible for God to raise up men with their bodies." It is true, as Strack points out,[9] that the Talmud gives no early attestation for the promise of God to Moses: "Because thou didst offer thy life for Israel in this world (Ex. 32:32) so shall it be again in the world to come. When I send Elias to my people thou shalt appear with him." Only in early Christian literature does Moses appear together with Elias in the work of "restoring the tribes" preliminary to the final judgment (Rev. 11:3-13). Nevertheless the "ignorant" word of Peter in the vision, offering to build "tabernacles" (*σκηνάς*) for the glorified ones, shows clearly that the lesson has to do with the "bodily resurrection"; for in Hellenistic religious literature *σκήνη*, *σκῆνος*, and *σκήνωμα* are almost technical terms for the "tenement of clay" (II Cor. 5:1; II Pt. 1:14; Jn. 1:14). As Origen already saw, this suggestion of Peter's in Mk. 9:5 to prepare "tabernacles" for the glorified is the equivalent of his proposal that Jesus reject the cross in the preceding story (8:33), and may thus be called a "suggestion of Satan." Peter's word of ignorance stands over against the vision and heavenly Voice that the reader may be taught the wrong and the right of the gospel. Not in earthly tabernacles of corruptible flesh is the deliverance of the Christ to be accomplished, but in bodies of incorruptible glory, our "house which is from heaven." And the way to this deliverance from the powers of darkness and death is obedience to him. The Voice from heaven proclaims: "This is my Son, the Elect;[10] hearken ye to him."

A study of primitive Christian and pre-christian apocalypse enables us to say certainly what are the ingredients of this midrash. Moses, who in contemporary apocalypse is "taken up" as Elijah had been (the Assumption of Moses), appears together with Elias

[9] Strack, *Comm. on Matt.* 1923, p. 756. Volz, *Jüd. Eschatologie*, p. 191, had mistakenly ascribed the saying to Johanan ben Zacchai (50-100 A.D.). It belongs to the midrash on Deuteronomy (*ca.* 900 A.D.).

[10] The variation between Mk. 9:7, *ὁ Ἀγαπητός*, and Lk. 9:35, *ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος*, is most reasonably explained on the theory of assimilation in the former case to Mk. 1:11.

as one of the "two witnesses who stand in the presence of Lord of the whole earth" (Rev. 11:3 f.; *cf.* Zech. 4:3, 11, 14), ready to fulfil his part together with Elias so soon as the Christ also, "he who was to be sent," shall also have been "taken up." But Peter and his associates are not yet ready. They think of the kingdom, and the work of the Son of Man "according to the things of men." Hence the proposal of Peter's "ignorance" (ver. 6). Hence also the Voice, which tells the true mission of the chosen Son. The Christ of God is to become through his death and exaltation a heavenly Redeemer. This utterance the disciples understood not at the time. They kept the revelation to themselves, says the evangelist (ver. 10), "questioning among themselves what the rising again from the dead should mean."

A series of attempts to give the apostleship and message of Peter over against those of Paul help us to determine where to place this "revelation." In Mt. 16:17-19 our first evangelist appends to the Markan account of Peter's Confession of Jesus as the "Christ, the Son of the living God," a declaration on Jesus' part that this perception came "not from flesh and blood" (*cf.* Gal. 1:16), but was a revelation from the "Father in heaven." As such it constitutes Peter the first founder of the resurrection faith, and gives him authority to define for all what is, or is not, obligatory. He is to hold "the keys of the kingdom of heaven." This is certainly one of the earliest of the attempts to define the "revelation of Peter," though certainly later than Paul's statement of his own apostleship and authority "not from flesh and blood" but by revelation from God of his glorified Son.

A second statement of the message of Peter, particularly directed against the "heretics who deny the bodily resurrection," takes the revelation of Peter and his associates "in the holy mount" much as *Yalkut Shime'oni* advises that "the prophet Elias" should be taken. II Pt. 1:16-18 (140-150?) applies the Transfiguration story in the name of Peter, much as in Mark, though with a conflation of the Voice at the Baptism with the Voice of this occasion. "The Elders" quoted by Irenaeus (from Papias) in his Paradise doctrine (*Haer.*V.v.1) have the same teaching that the men who were translated to Paradise "remain there until the end of all things as archetypes of incorruption" (προοιμιαζόμενοι τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν).

A third form of this famous "revelation" takes the very name, calling itself the *Apocalypse* or *Revelation of Peter,* and speaking in the name of Peter and his associates. This is a writing of about the same period as Second Peter, having in view the same deniers of the (bodily) resurrection (*cf.* Polycarp *ad Phil.* vii.), and aim-

ing to enhance the effect of moral teaching by greater emphasis on the rewards and penalties of the world to come. Once more the description of the glorified denizens of Paradise is given, with great heightening and elaboration. The disciples are led by Jesus after prayer into the holy mount, and there receive the vision. It takes place, however, after the resurrection, thus avoiding the difficulty met in Mk. 9:9 f. by the requirement that the revelation shall be kept a secret until after the Son of Man be risen again from the dead.[11]

It is possible thus to trace something both of the pre-christian ingredients of the Transfiguration story, and of its development in the early Church. Clearly it is apocalyptic in type, aiming to set forth a Son of Man Christology, and (if we may judge from the quotation of Dt. 18:15 in the heavenly Voice) embodying a soteriology based on the conception of the Prophet, the Second Moses. Obedience to him is the pathway of salvation and eternal life. Verbally we have traces of the Servant Christology. The Voice proclaims Jesus "the Beloved Son" (in Luke "the Elect"), and the whole scene seems to be almost a replica of the Vision at the Baptism. But surely the conception of salvation is quite different, whether as regards method or result. As a preface to the Passion and Resurrection gospel this midrash serves very well the purpose of Mark. It contrasts the Son of David ideal with that of the Son of Man, making the doctrine of the cross central and indispensable. But there is no hint of the Servant doctrine, and none whatever of the Wisdom Christology.

Fortunately our present purpose does not require a final answer to the question of the relation of the Transfiguration midrash to that of the Baptism. If either one shows dependence on Paul then both it and *a fortiori* the Gospel of Mark which incorporates it are later. In fact they are so considerably later than Paul as to leave room for the grafting upon the type of thought really characteristic of Peter of certain highly distinctive features of Pauline doctrine. In the case of the midrash of the Baptism we have acknowledged inability to point to anything characteristic of Paul, though Paul also embodies similar ideas in Col. 1:19 and elsewhere. In the case of the Transfiguration midrash there is so marked an effort to place the apostleship and gospel of Peter on a level with that of Paul, as expressed in his comparison of the "ministry of the new covenant" with that of Moses in II Cor. 3:6-6:10, that it seems impossible to doubt the dependence of the Markan source. For in the definition of

[11] Such 'hiding of the mystery' is characteristic of apocalypse. Without it the reader would ask: "Why were we not sooner informed of this?"

his apostleship "not from man" we have to do with something personally distinctive of Paul. He does indeed place the apostleship of Peter on a level with his own as a revelation of the glorified Christ by God "in" Peter corresponding to his own (Gal. 2:8). But it may well be doubted if any besides Paul took quite so lofty a view of "the ministry." In particular his personal experience of a continuous "transfiguration," renewing the inward man day by day in spite of the decay of the "outward man," a transfiguration by the vision of "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" conveying not only forgiveness and reconciliation but assurance of immortality, is so inimitably and characteristically Pauline (*cf.* Rom. 8:11, 29 f., 38 f.) and so unmistakably the fruit of his personal religious experience that its originality must forever stand unquestioned.

The midrash, like the Pauline defense of the "ministry," is built on the story of Moses "going up to God" at Horeb. As Moses takes with him Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, so Jesus takes with him Peter and James and John, doubtless because these three who shared the martyrdom of Jesus (Mk. 10:39; Jn. 21:19) and are consequently to share his glory (Rom. 8:17; II Tim. 2:11 f.) are his most appropriate companions in this revelation of it. As in Ex. 24:16 there is a preparatory "six days" (Mk. 9:2). After this Jesus, ascending with his three companions into the "high mountain apart," is covered by the cloud which hides the divine "glory" (Ex. 24:15-18; Mk. 9:6). Here the Voice from heaven proclaims him the Elect (or Beloved) Son, and the world, through the attendant witnesses, is admonished to "hearken to him," as in Dt. 18:15 the people are admonished to hearken to "the prophet like unto Moses."

Thus far we have only an interpretation by vision and Voice from heaven of the mission of Jesus in the character of glorified Son of Man and second Moses. Such an interpretation might well be expected in certain circles of Jewish Christianity. These, however, would hardly be the same circles to which he had previously been set forth, by equally divine authority, with John the Baptist as witness, in the character of the incarnate Wisdom of God, fulfilling the career of the suffering Servant. This impression of difference is strengthened by certain further traits which are vital to the narrative in the connection given it by Mark, if not from its origin. They are precisely the traits which make it a vision of "transfiguration," and a "revelation to Peter" not only of the glorified Son of God, but of the "ignorance" of those who think of the redemption as concerned with earthly "tabernacles." The revelation aims to teach that the followers of the Son become sharers of the heavenly Para-

dise where dwell already in "glorified" bodies the men who were taken up, Moses and Elias. For their translation was for this purpose that they should be "archetypes of incorruption" dwelling in Paradise till the last times, in the presence of the Lord of the whole earth. These traits, dealing with "what the rising from the dead means" (Mk. 9:10), are those which interest Mark and subsequent employers of the midrash. Now these traits have nothing to do with the story of Moses' ascent to God to obtain forgiveness for the many, or his bringing down of the Torah, both of which are also played upon by Paul. They depend entirely upon another factor, made especially prominent in II Cor. 3:12-6:10, perhaps because the question "How are the dead raised, and with what manner of body do they come?" had been a vital issue at Corinth (I Cor. 15:35 ff.). This factor is the Pauline mystical doctrine of "transfiguration" by the vision of God in Christ.

Immortality through the vision of God (θεότης διὰ θεάς) is of course a commonplace of the mystery religions of Paul's time, and due allowance must be made in the interpretation of II Cor. 3:18-4:6 for the fact that here more than anywhere else in Paul the phraseology of mystery-religion is heaped up. "Transfiguration" (μεταμόρφωσις), reflection "as in a mirror" of the image of the divinity, "enlightenment" (φωτισμός), knowledge (γνώσις) of the divine glory —all these expressions warn us that Hellenistic mysticism has had a share in the development of these conceptions. Nevertheless it is a pre-christian Jew, albeit a Hellenist and one of the fathers of Gnosticism, Philo of Alexandria, who gives us the key to Paul's meaning. At the close of his *Life of Moses* (II. 39, 288) Philo relates how Moses was gradually prepared for immortality by a kind of transfiguration of his mortal body. Through his immediate intercourse with God his whole physical nature, which previously had been of the dual or composite nature of ordinary human bodies, partly flesh and partly spirit (σῶμα καὶ ψυχή) and thus subject to corruption, became changed into the substance of monads, a mind-substance like the sun's radiance (εἰς νοῦν ἡλιοειδέστατον). This was accomplished by his vision of God in preparation for immortality (μετακληθεὶς ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι).

This conception of transfiguration by the indwelling of the Spirit of Christ is an essential factor in Paul's doctrine of resurrection, and gives his answer to the debated question, "With what manner of body do they come?" In Rom. 8:10 f. the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has this double function, physical as well as ethical. Those who walk after it fulfil the ordinance of the Law by virtue of a new moral power. They are also transfigured in their mortal

bodies by the indwelling of "the Spirit of Him who raised up Jesus from the dead," so that we know that "if we suffer with him we shall also be glorified with him" (17). The carrying out of this "transfiguration" by the renewing of the mind in the likeness of the mind of Christ gives experience of the good and acceptable and perfect intention of the Creator (Rom. 12:2). For God created us for this very thing, even immortality in his own likeness (II Cor. 5:5; *cf.* Wisd. 2:23). Our outward bodies therefore may decay, but our inward man is continually renewed, the treasure breaking forth from the earthen vessel (II Cor. 4:7 ff.). Thus we "put on the new man, which is after God, created in righteousness and holiness of truth" (Eph. 4:24). Thus the present body of our humiliation is "fashioned anew, conformed to Christ's body of glory, according to the miraculous working of God" (Phil. 3:21).

Paul's doctrine of this corruptible putting on incorruption, and this mortal putting on immortality (I Cor. 15:50-54) is therefore a very definite and vital part of his message, given to him together with his apostleship to the Gentiles when it pleased God to reveal His Son in him. It is a distinct doctrine of "transfiguration," without which this flesh and blood could not inherit the kingdom of God. In II Cor. 5:1 ff. it is expressed by comparison of the mortal body to a "tabernacle" (σκῆνος) such as the ark of God occupied in the wilderness until the "house" was built for it in Jerusalem. In like manner we in the consummation are to be "clothed upon with our 'house' (οἰκία) to be given us from heaven" that mortality may be swallowed up of life. Peter's apostleship could not be reckoned equal to Paul's unless it contained an equivalent revelation of the Son by the Father. For this reason we find the Transfiguration midrash appended after Peter's Confession in Mk. 9:2 ff., just as Mt. 16:17-19 appends an utterance of Christ giving him apostolic authority because of his "revelation." In the Transfiguration story the ethical aspect of the Pauline doctrine of the Spirit is neglected. Nothing appears of the doctrine of the new covenant written not on tables of stone but hearts of flesh, which Paul draws from Jer. 31:31 ff., unless we so reckon the admonition of the heavenly Voice to obedience to the Prophet. Attention is concentrated on the "transfiguration" undergone by Jesus as "example and archetype of the bodily resurrection," and the ignorance of Peter and his associates until enlightened by the revelation, in thinking the glorified ones could be induced to exchange their heavenly condition for earthly "tabernacles."

In the earlier form (II Cor. 3:1-6:10) Paul's defense of "the ministry" includes a full statement of his doctrine of the Spirit.

As Moses went up to God to obtain forgiveness and mediate a covenant of law, a "ministration of death, written and engraven on stones" (a handwriting of ordinances which was against us, since the condition of God's return was obedience to every word of the commandment), so Jesus had ascended "far above all the heavens," obtaining not only forgiveness, in spite of all protest of the angels (Rom. 8:33-39), but the Spirit of adoption, sent down not only to sanctify, but to make men immortal as sons of God. This immortality is not a mere fading glory, such as illuminated for a time the face of Moses when he came down from seeing God on the holy Mount, but fills with assurance of immortality those who have received the illumination (φωτισμός) of the knowledge of the glory of God by vision of the face of the glorified Christ. However outwardly worn with suffering they are continually renewed in the inward man, being "transfigured into the image" of the glorified Christ, and are thus continually of good courage, willing rather to be absent from the body that they may be present with the Lord. They henceforth know no "Christ after the flesh" (II Cor. 5:16; *cf.* Mk. 8:33; 9:6), but as ambassadors of God proclaim the message of the Reconciliation, God's forgiveness of sin for the sake of Christ who gave himself "for the many," entreating men everywhere to be reconciled to God. In all their affliction and distress, accordingly, they as "ministers of God" are living examples of their gospel of peace and life. As dying, behold they live, as sorrowful they are always rejoicing, as poor they make many rich, as having nothing they are possessors of all things.

Such is Paul's great defence of the "apostleship." We need to know it as a whole to apprehend its greatness and originality. We do not need to find every element in it reflected in the midrash of the revelation of the glorified Christ to Peter, to perceive that the midrash has incorporated *something* of the teaching of Paul.

CHAPTER XIX

PAULINE INFLUENCE (b) DIRECT

In the preceding chapter we have traced the influence of Paul's teaching, whether orally or by his writings, in certain sources incorporated by Mark. With or without the evangelist's appreciation of the fact one at least of the sources he employs takes up in a form adapted to Jewish comprehension ideas set forth by Paul in II Cor. 3-6 in defense of the "ministry of the new covenant." Peter's apostleship and gospel are thus pictured as containing the same elements as Paul's, sanctioned by the same superhuman authority. The representation of Mark fails to agree with the facts of Peter's experience as known from the Pauline Epistles. Peter's real enlightenment came after the experience of Gethsemane and Calvary. The *gnosis* of Peter, James, and John, says an unknown gospel quoted by Clement of Alexandria, was given them by the Lord "after the resurrection."

We have now to ask whether the evangelist himself shows effects from Pauline teaching as well as his sources. It cannot be expected to appear through verbal extracts, for the nature of the subject and the practice of the age are both opposed. Even Acts, in the portion derived more or less directly from a close companion of Paul during the decade of the great Epistles, shows no acquaintance with the Epistles. The Fourth Gospel itself, written from the headquarters of Paulinism a half-century after the appearance of these same Epistles, shows acquaintance with them only by resemblance of teaching; a resemblance of spirit, not of the letter. The age of citation from Paul scarcely begins before Irenaeus. Justin Martyr, however embued with Pauline (or quasi-Pauline) ideas, has scarcely a trace in all his writings of verbal employment of the Pauline Epistles. However, certain ideas are recognizable as characteristically Pauline, even in un-Pauline dress; and the cumulative evidence of a succession of such ideas soon becomes convincing, even where no single echo shows verbal resemblance. We cannot expect verbal resemblances in Mark; but Pauline influence may be traceable none the less. Such evidence in Mark will be of service not merely to reënforce the inferences to be drawn from sources embodied, making it still more probable that the Gospel originates at a date considerably later than the Epistles, but will have interpreta-

tive value also. It will serve to determine the nature of the Gospel's environment, the conditions of requirement and resource which called it forth.

In our study of the composition of the Gospel of Mark as a whole we have found it instructive to compare the proportion of space and interest given to teaching as against narrative material with the proportion for the same elements in Matthew and Luke. We inferred from this comparison that Mark's concentration upon the story of Jesus' career, in particular the reduction of all soteriological teaching to the doctrine of the Cross and Resurrection, cannot be explained without reference to Paul. As stated in the *Commentary* (p. xxviii), "The Paulinism of Mark is supremely manifest in this evangelist's whole conception of *what constitutes the apostolic message.*" The substance of the story could be derived from no other ultimate eye-witness than Peter. But Peter scarcely appears in this Gospel except to receive rebuke, and the selection of material is so made as to bring out belief in Jesus as "the Son of God" in a sense quite characteristic of Paul. It presents a hope of redemption in which the moral teaching of Jesus is only given incidentally; whereas salvation is explicitly declared to be not a matter of obedience to Scripture commandments, but of the dedication of all, wealth and life, to the cause of the Kingdom, and of following Jesus even to martyrdom. This is quite in keeping with First Peter. But for this very reason First Peter has been called "Deutero-Pauline." The contrast of Matthew's emended form of the story of the Rich Enquirer (Mk. 10:17-31=Mt. 19:16-30) with the Markan original is highly instructive on this point. Matthew thinks of salvation as secured by obedience to the new Torah of Jesus. Mark in a more Pauline way, as suffering and being glorified together with him (*cf.* Rom. 8:17). If First Peter presents a strongly Paulinized version of the teaching of Peter, is this not at least in some degree true of the doctrinal content of Mark?

1. We have found in considering the make-up of such few discourses as are actually contained in this Gospel, that they appear to centre upon points of doctrine or apologetic particularly characteristic of Paul. The most considerable of these is the Eschatological Discourse, which we found to have as its main burden the "Be not agitated" of Paul's advice to the Thessalonians, and to be largely founded on the Son of Man doctrine of the Thessalonian Little Apocalypse. A curiously specific point of coincidence is the doctrine of the "cutting short" of the days of the Son of Man to spare the elect (Mk. 13:20). In Rom. 9:27 f. Paul bases it on Is. 10:22 f. LXX.

2. A similar account could be given of the next largest discourse of Mark, made up from a selection of Jesus' Parables of the Kingdom (4:1-34). Here the motive was again largely apocalyptic and apologetic, but the evangelist's chief interest was to show that Jesus adopted the parabolic method in order to convey "the mystery of the kingdom of God" to the little group of the elect constituting his real (spiritual) kindred, while "outsiders" should understand nothing. This singular apologetic is undeniably related to that of Paul in Rom. 9-11. For the purpose of developing it Mark utilizes a logion about the "hiding of the mystery" which also plays a great part in the thought of Paul, though traceable in a form antecedent to both in the Wisdom literature (I Cor. 1:18-3:2; Mt. 11:25-30=Lk. 10:21 f.). So singular a combination of Old Testament quotation with current logia in the interest of a particular form of anti-Jewish apologetic is difficult to account for unless we suppose the evangelist to have been familiar with the parallel argument of Paul, which employs the same quotations in the same interest.[1]

3. The discourse on Receiving *versus* Stumbling (9:30-50), next in dimensions, was found to bear a similar relation to Paul's exhortation to the church leaders at Rome (Rom. 14:1-15:13). It is all the more difficult to account for the composition of this discourse without influence from Paul because of the extraordinary artificiality of the connection. The basis, as we found, was a teaching of Jesus urging Renunciation for the Gospel's Sake. Resting on the mere verbal attachment "Causing to stumble" Mark has expanded this theme into a discourse on Receiving *versus* Stumbling, contrary to the clear meaning and connection of the context. Without the technical use of the ideas "receiving" and "stumbling" in Rom. 14:1 ff. this is almost inexplicable.

4. The discourse on Distinctions of Meats (7:1-23), founded on the logion about Inward Purity, was also developed along lines justifying a Paulinistic application. Jesus, according to Mark, had swept away all distinctions of meats by this saying, and thereafter had extended his mission of mercy to Gentiles also. This goes quite beyond Paul's teaching (Gal. 4:4; Rom. 15:8); but *not* beyond what Paul was commonly understood to teach (I Cor. 10:23 ff.; Rom. 14:8; Acts 21:21). It is not the Epistles themselves but com-

[1] The attempt of Werner (*op. cit.* pp. 184-197) to discount this evidence on the ground that Mark makes use of the doctrine in a more harshly anti-Jewish way than Paul would only have weight if the contention were for direct literary dependence. The statement (p. 196) that Mark presents no prospect (as in Rom. 9-11) of the ultimate conversion of Israel may be questioned. See *Commentary* on Mk. 9:14-29.

mon report of Paul's teaching which we must expect to find reflected in this Gospel. Once more Mark's proof-text (Is. 29:13) is the same which Paul had employed with reference to the same subject in Col. 2:22. It has even been maintained that there is here a literary relation, because of the peculiar rendering of the Hebrew.[2] If such is the case it would be inverting the canons of criticism to maintain that Paul was here the borrower. One may suppose that both employ a common source, or that the evangelist gets his proof-text from Paul. It is perhaps the part of good judgment not to insist too strongly on the literary nature of the interdependence. The author of the doctrine, however, can hardly be other than Paul.

5. Finally the Question of Christ, appended by Mark in 12:35-37 to the triple series of questions of Pharisee, Sadducee, and Scribe, gives a Christology distinctly Pauline (*cf.* Rom. 1:3 f.) in striking contrast to the Son of David Christology represented in other gospel material. Here too the proof-text (Ps. 110:1) is repeatedly employed by Paul (Rom. 8:34; I Cor. 15:25; Eph. 1:20; Col. 3:1), though also found in an early 'Petrine' source (Acts 2:34). In Rom. 1:3 f. it is set in explicit contrast with the Son of David Christology. *Cf.* Mk. 12:35-37.

Thus with one possible exception the discourses of Mark appear to be developed with a Pauline application, on the basis of proof-texts employed in similar application by Paul. The exception is the Parable (or allegory) of the Rejection of the Son (Mk. 12:1-12), which should perhaps not be counted as a "discourse." In this case we seem to have the elaboration of a theme supplied by Q, with employment of the Passover Psalm (Ps. 118:22 f.) previously employed in 11:9 f. Paul in Rom. 9:33 and Eph. 2:20 uses the Isaian equivalent (the original form?), Is. 28:16. The use of Ps. 118:22 f. might rather be called Petrine, for it is thus applied in Peter's speech in Acts 4:11 (with closer approximation to the Hebrew). Mark is probably using here the Special Source of Luke, which was clearly Petrine. In I Pt. 2:6-8 the two proof-texts are placed in conjunction, one following the other. First Peter, as we know, is a Paulo-Petrine writing.

To this evidence for direct influence from Paul based on the structure and composition of the Gospel we have now to add the few instances in which it may be supposed that Mark draws directly upon some Pauline, or post-Pauline writing, such as the Vision and Voice from heaven at Jesus' Baptism in comparison with Col. 1:19 or the Pauline (?) phraseology of the definition of "the Gospel of God" in 1:15.

[2] On this see below, p. 266.

1. The Vision and Voice of Mk. 1:9-11 have already been discussed in our study of Markan and Pauline Christology.[3] The passage being derived from Q, the question really concerns the Second Source primarily, and can hardly be decided apart from a survey of all the Christological passages of Q. It does not appear, however, that Mk. 1:9-11 is more Pauline than I Pt. 1:20, or involves anything more than eternal foreordination. The title "the Beloved," and the conception of adoption by indwelling of the Spirit, with the attendant "gifts" is not distinctively Pauline. Paul, Mark, and the Q source have it by common inheritance.

2. Comparison of the definition of the gospel preached by Jesus in Mk. 1:15 with the Q form (Mt. 10:7=Lk. 9:2; 10:11) makes conspicuous the addition of the clauses "the time is fulfilled" and "believe in the gospel." These have sometimes been characterized as "Pauline." But the inference is far from cogent. No emphasis should be laid upon it. In particular the unique construction of πιστεύειν with ἐν ("believe *in*") is indicative of a Semitic source.

3. Greater weight as indicative of post-Pauline origin might perhaps be attached to the theory enunciated in Mk. 1:34; 3:11, of recognition of Jesus as the Christ by the demons.[4] This theory is accepted by Luke, but receives no endorsement from Matthew beyond transcription of the basic story of the Gerasene Demoniac (Mk. 5:7=Mt. 8:29). In all other cases Matthew avoids repeating the statement of Mark that the demons recognized Jesus as "Son of the Most High God." The belief might rest upon the incident related by an eye-witness in Acts 16:16. But the incident, historical though it be, is not a necessary condition of the belief. It makes it somewhat more probable that the Gospel was written at a later time. But there is again nothing cogent about the proof. In Acts 16:17 the Pythoness calls the missionaries "servants of the Most High God" (δοῦλοι τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ), doubtless because she knows something of the sect of Jewish propagandists known to us through inscriptions extending from the Fayoum to Bithynia,[5] who used this title. The demon of Mk. 5:7 uses the same, contributing (like the heathen centurion of 15:39) to Gentile apprehension of how (to the evangelist's mind) the title 'Son of God' should be taken. But the coincidence even in this unusual title is not convincing as evidence of any direct relation between the two narratives, whether oral or literary.

[3] See above, p. 250, and *cf.* Bacon, "The Aorist εὐδόκησα in Mk. 1:11." *J.B.L.* XVI, 136-142.

[4] On this see Bacon in *Z.N.W.* VI (1905), pp. 153-158, "The Markan Theory of Demonic Recognition of the Christ."

[5] See Schürer, *Die Hypsistarier.*

4. "The mystery of the kingdom of God" given to the elect, but "hidden" from outsiders (Mk. 4:11), is properly termed in the *Commentary* (p. 48) a "Pauline" expression. The term belongs to Hellenistic religion, and to the 'mystery' cults, signifying the revelation conveyed to the adept. It is common in Paul (Rom. 11:25; 16:25; I Cor. 2:7; 4:1; 13:2; 14:2; 15:51; Eph. 1:9; 3:3, 4, 9; 5:32; 6:19; Col. 1:26 f.; 2:2; 4:3; II Thess. 2:7; (I Tim. 3:9, 16)) but unknown to the Gospels outside this passage. Yet the idea of the "hiding of the mystery" (of the divine revelation), the real point of resemblance, belongs rather to the Hellenistic Wisdom literature than specifically to Paul. Particularly the elaboration of it in I Cor. 1:18-3:2, in which critics as eminent as Pfleiderer and Harnack have suspected a direct literary relation with the Q parallel Mt. 11:25-27=Lk. 10:21 f., is probably due to nothing more than common dependence on the same widespread idea. Theodotion's translation of Is. 24:16 (*τὸ μυστήριόν μου ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς*), which coincides with the rabbinic (*Sanhedrin* 94:1, "A *bath qol* resounded, saying 'My secret is mine, my secret is mine' "), proves its currency in Jewish circles. Only in the sense that Mark probably is led to make the application here considered through diffused Pauline influence can even this passage on the 'hiding of the mystery of the kingdom of God' be called "Pauline."

5. According to Professor Torrey Mk. 7:6 f. by the form in which it quotes Is. 29:13 (*διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων*) shows direct literary relation with Col. 2:22, where the same redundant (conflate?) form is employed (*ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων*). The LXX have *διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας*. The last two words of the Septuagint text are superfluous, perhaps added from the margin as an alternate rendering of the Hebrew *mitzwah*. The Hebrew has simply "Their fear of me is a commandment of men which has been taught them." Both Paul and Mark follow LXX. If it can be shown that coincidence in following the LXX proves literary interrelation we surely have it here. In that case Mark depends directly on Paul, filling out the bare allusion of Col. 2:22 to the full dimensions of the original, just as Lk. 3:4 ff. fills out Mk. 1:1 from Is. 40:3 ff., or as Mark himself fills out the bare allusion of Rom. 11:8 to Is. 6:9 f. in Mk. 4:12. As above stated (p. 264) we think it more reasonable not to insist upon direct literary interrelation. Mark (or the Markan source) is following the great Isaian chapter on the enlightenment of the lowly (Is. 29:9-24) throughout this section of his Gospel. Its ideas dominate from 7:1 to 8:30. They were a commonplace of anti-Jewish polemic in Nazarene circles in the fourth century. They may have been so in

the time of Paul. In view of Mark's habitual use of the LXX we must remain unconvinced of direct *literary* relationship, in spite of the fact that direct interrelation would probably demonstrate our thesis of the post-Pauline origin of Mark.

6. In the Transfiguration midrash of Mk. 9:2-10 we have already called attention to the incorporation of Pauline ideas. The employment of the material as a Revelation of Peter showing the true nature of his apostleship and gospel is unaccountable (so far as our judgment avails) without Paul's exposition of his own apostleship and gospel, including under the latter head particularly his gospel of "transfiguration" of the body, in the Corinthian correspondence. The particular terms employed in Mk. 9:2, 5, μετεμορφώθη and σκηνή, are the distinctive technical terms of the Pauline doctrine, employed nowhere in Synoptic literature save here, but repeatedly employed (though with some variation of language) by Paul (Rom. 12:2; II Cor. 3:18; Phil. 3:21 (μετασχηματίσει); II Cor. 5:1, 4 (σκῆνος)) and dependent writers (Jn. 1:14 (σκηνοῦν) II Pt. 1:13 f.). It might be maintained that these two elements of the midrash, the "transfiguration" of Jesus (vers. 2b-3) and the utterance of Peter (vers. 5 f.) being readily separable from the remainder, constitute the personal addition of Mark and therefore exhibit Pauline coloration of the language. It is safer to attempt no such refinement of critical analysis, but to take the midrash as it stands as derived from some Jewish-Christian source. Even so it would not follow that there is *literary* interrelation with Paul. The terminology, so far as the technical use of σκηνοῦν is concerned, belongs to current Jewish apocalypse (*cf.* Rev. 21:3), and if the *doctrine* of metamorphosis of corruptible flesh into incorruptible "mind-substance" was also current (as shown in Philo's account of the "transfiguration" of Moses) it is difficult to imagine the use of any other term for the teaching. Here too we hesitate to pronounce in favor of any *literary* relation between Paul and Mark (or Mark's source). It is a relation not of language but of ideas with which we have to do. The ideas are common to Hellenistic religion and Jewish apocalypse.

7. Enough has already been said of the agglutination on the theme Receiving *versus* Stumbling in Mk. 9:30-50 to show that the compiler uses heterogeneous material to enforce the lesson of Rom. 14:1-15:7. Here the two terms technically applied are strikingly dissimilar. Paul uses for "receive" προσλαμβάνεσθαι, Mark δέχεσθαι. Paul uses for "stumble" τιθέναι πρόσκομμα. Mark uses σκανδαλίζειν. Yet the sense is practically identical. At the very end (ver. 50) we have one expression which even Werner classes as distinctively

Pauline, "Be at peace" (εἰρηνεύετε). Otherwise Mark's language seems to be prompted by his sources. The adaptation of the material is in the interest of the lesson of Paul.

8. Such is the case also in the story of the Rich Enquirer (Mk. 10:17-22). Eternal life is to be won not by obedience to "the commandments," but by renunciation of all and following Jesus in the way of the cross. The lesson is Pauline—too Pauline for Matthew, who makes "eternal life" the reward of obedience to the commandments (Christianized by addition of the Law of Love) and inculcates renunciation as a counsel of perfection ("If thou wouldest be perfect, go, sell," etc.). The language shows nothing distinctive of Paul.

9. The spirit of the Servant is admirably defined in 10:45. Paul would have said the same. But the language doubtless merely summarizes the source. The "ransom for the many" (λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν; *cf.* 14:24, ὑπὲρ πολλῶν), often cited as a reminiscence of Is. 53:11 LXX, is probably not even that. It was a current expression for the vicarious sacrifice of Moses at Horeb, who offered himself "the one for the many." The idea is Pauline (better pre-Pauline), the expression belongs to the source.

10. The answer to the Pharisees (Mk. 12:13-17), by its suggestion of the "image and superscription" of God stamped upon the human frame and marking the body itself as our spiritual offering to God, recalls the exhortation of Rom. 12:1, "Offer your own bodies a living sacrifice to God; for this is your rational worship." The resemblance is more striking because Paul's exhortation is followed in 13:7 by the application, "Render tribute, therefore, to whom tribute is due." In this case the dependence would be on the side of Paul. But there is no literary relation, and of course the saying of Jesus had more ways of reaching Paul than merely the Gospel of Mark, or any of its sources.

11. More significant would be the use of Ps. 110:1 in Mk. 12:35-37 against the Son of David Christology. We have here not only a coincidence with Rom. 1:3 f., with use of the same Scripture employed by Paul, but a coincidence of doctrine with Hebrews, which elaborates the Christhood "after the order of Melchizedek," not dependent on pedigree, but by divine appointment. But only current Pauline teaching need be presupposed. The use of the Psalm passage was doubtless general in primitive Christian apologetic (*cf.* Acts 2:34 f.).

12. We have found the Little Apocalypse of the Thessalonian Epistles to be reflected in the Eschatological Discourse (Mk. 13), and here the unusal term "be not agitated" (μὴ θροεῖσθε) which

forms the central lesson in 13:7 might well suggest direct literary dependence on II Thess. 2:2 (μὴ θροεῖσθαι). More important still is the apparent use of Rom. 9:27 f. in Mk. 13:20. Whether the chapter as a whole can be accounted for without Pauline *influence* is another question, whereof the reader must form his own judgment after consideration of the evidence already adduced. But the single word θροεῖσθε, unusual though it be, and central in the exhortation on both sides, is a slender basis on which to build a doctrine of literary employment of Paul. Even the shortening of the days of the Son of Man does not prove *literary* dependence on Rom. 9:27 f.

13. More could probably be made of the words of Institution of the Sacrament (Mk. 14:22-25), as evidence for direct use of I Cor. 11:23-25. There is here real coincidence of language: λαβὼν (ἔλαβεν) ἄρτον, εὐλογήσας (εὐχαριστήσας) ἔκλασε, . . . καὶ εἶπε, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου (μου τὸ σῶμα) . . . καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον (ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον) εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς (λέγων), τοῦτό (τὸ ποτήριον) ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης (ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι). When we compare this account with that of Luke's Special Source it appears impossible to deny direct and even verbal dependence. But this is precisely one of the exceptional cases where constant repetition would preserve the *ipsissima verba*. Direct *oral* dependence is certain. The Pauline features of the interpretation stand out in such marked contrast to those of the Special Source that it is impossible not to recognize that such expressions as "the new covenant in my blood" are of Paul's own coinage. Paul is original. Mark is dependent. But even here there is not enough to prove *literary* dependence. Mark simply uses the words of institution stereotyped in a church of Pauline practice.

We may suppose the Gospel of Mark to have had its origin at Rome, or some similar Greek-speaking church of the West, a church not founded by Paul himself but having had as founders such chance-comers of the Petrine missions as Ambrosiaster describes as founders of the church at Rome, "Jews living at Rome in pursuit of their business, who after conversion (in Palestine?) impressed on the Romans the confession of Christ with retention of the Law." We know from the Epistles that Paul was late in reaching this part of his appointed mission field and (as at Ephesus) found it already preoccupied. Several years before his arrival in Rome a church so considerable as to call forth the great Epistle to the Romans was already in existence there, with its own well-developed institutions and practices. The most firmly fixed of all practices would doubtless be those attaching to the observance of the Lord's Supper. Unless

by some strange coincidence the spirit and tone of the observance at Rome had come even before Paul's arrival to take on the typical Pauline features of "distinction of the Lord's body," "commemorating" and "having fellowship" in "the Lord's death," entering into a "new covenant in the blood of Christ"; while churches in the Petrine field of Antioch were using forms like that of Lk. 22: 14-23 (β text), or the liturgy of the *Didaché*, we must account for the coincidence between Mk. 14: 22-25 and I Cor. 11: 23 ff. by direct Pauline influence. The old 'Petrine' basis appears plainly in 14: 25, repeating Lk. 22: 16, 18. But the superimposed and really dominant features are those insisted upon by Paul when seeking to correct the abuses at Corinth. The very nature of these abuses was that they made of the sacrament commemorative of the death of Christ (a death in which the believer must morally take part) a convivial banquet, whose watchword was like that of present-day Passover observance: "Let all who are hungry come and eat. Let all who are needy enter and keep Passover. This year here, next year in the land of Israel. This year as slaves, next year as free men." Paul objects to this disregard of the doctrine of the cross. The Markan form when compared with the Lukan ritual shows a Pauline transformation. There is no *literary* dependence. Fortunately the α text of Luke survives to show what actual copying of I Cor. 11: 23 ff. would produce. But the α text of Luke is a product of the second or third century. The Markan institution-section has a strong resemblance to the Lukan α text in its composite character. But the transfer of Pauline terms is too free for literary dependence. The relation is close, but still traditional and oral rather than literary. We can best account for it on the supposition already laid down. Mark is using the words of institution stereotyped in a church whose practice had come to be Pauline. Was this during the time before Paul had visited Rome? Is there any trace in Romans of an attempt to deepen the tone of observance of the Supper, such as we find in I Cor. 10: 14-22; 11: 17-34? Are we not compelled to suppose that if Pauline influence be present here it was due to Paul's presence at Rome, his growing authority in that church before and after his heroic death, due perhaps most of all to the corps of fellow-workers, including Mark, whom he left behind at Rome, to "remember (him) in all things and to hold fast the traditions, even as (he) delivered them" (I Cor. 11: 2)?

14. The fact that "Alexander and Rufus" are mentioned in Mk. 15: 21 as individuals known to the readers, while in Rom. 16: 13 a Rufus also appears, an associate of Paul "elect in the Lord," whose mother, still living when Paul wrote, had been a mother to

the Apostle also, has a certain romantic interest, but unfortunately affords no firm ground for critical conclusions. It is possible that this chapter of greetings was already known at Rome at the time of the origin of the Gospel of Mark, through its being attached as now to the Roman Epistle. It is also possible that the names of these associates of Paul were known far and wide. But it is more probable that the "epistle of commendation" for the deaconess Phoebe of Cenchreae which includes these greetings was originally sent to Ephesus. Either way the chance of identity of this Rufus with the Rufus of Mk. 15:21 is too narrow to build on. The fact that the two sons of Simon of Cyrene are known to the readers of Mark, and mentioned, apparently to indicate the reliability of the traditions related of the crucifixion scene, throws very little light on the question of the date and composition of the Gospel. Certainly there is no literary relation between Mk. 15:21 and Rom. 16:13.

To the question whether any use is made in Mark of the deutero-Pauline Epistles of Hebrews and First Peter consideration must be given later. The result of our survey of the Pauline Epistles must be considered on the whole adverse. If the evangelist knew these writings the influence they have exerted upon him has reached his mind rather than his pen. The few cases of phraseology which might be designated Pauline are such as can be easily accounted for through the currency in oral and traditional teaching of certain half-stereotyped terms.

But if the question be put in another form, less specific, but equally conclusive as regards the question of date and composition, the answer will be quite different. If it be asked "Can we imagine a gospel such as Mark taking form in a community ignorant of the teaching of Paul?" the answer must be a decided No. The whole aim of the Gospel, its Christology and soteriology, its discourses and the framework of their composition, especially what we are able to trace out of its relation to earlier sources, make it impossible to account for such a composition as this without the life, the thought, and the teaching of Paul. Mark shows a direct, but not a literary dependence on the teaching of the great Apostle to the Gentiles.

PART V

CONSTRUCTIVE DATING

CHAPTER XX

THE TRADITION AS AFFECTED BY FIRST PETER

Constructive criticism must avail itself to the utmost of the testimony of antiquity, losing not the minutest crumb of real information. On the other hand it would very soon be led fatally astray if it did not weigh each statement with utmost care, discriminating fact from inference or fancy. The tendency of legend and fancy even more than of real knowledge is to "grow from more to more," and the only safeguard is discrimination. In the present case we have a very ancient nucleus of tradition. In Part I we have already sought to sift out its real significance, accounting for the statements made partly by actual information really transmitted from those cognizant of the facts, partly by the reporter's own inference or adaptation, according to our best knowledge of his circumstances and motive.

If our interpretation of the Papias fragment be correct the estimate it makes of the Gospel of Mark, ascribing the judgment to "the Elder," dates in its earliest traceable form *ca.* 100-117. The speaker is probably John of Jerusalem, one of two survivors (the unknown Aristion being the other) of the group known as "the Elders, the disciples of the Apostles." Even if this conclusion be incorrect in some minor particular it cannot be far from the truth. The speaker represents this authoritative group, and probably had been asked to pronounce judgment on the Gospel of Mark in substantially the same form it now presents. Contrary to common assumption there is no evidence that the Elder brings Mark's work into comparison, favorable or otherwise, with other writings.[1] He merely states his idea of its reliability and value. So far as this implies tacit comparison, the function ascribed to these Elders and their other recorded utterances should inform us. Such approval as "the Elder" expressed would not go to the length of displacing the

[1] On this point Zahn's judgment is emphatic and coincides with our own. He states (*Introd.*, II, p. 439) in speaking of the Elder's complaint of the lack of "order": "Variation from the order of another Gospel cannot here be meant; for in this case the point of criticism and defence would have to be the contradiction between Mark and the recognized authority . . . not want of order in general."

authority of the Elders themselves. Their ability to cite sayings and doings of the Lord as reported by Apostles was their chief distinction. A document which gave all of these, in systematic order, on apostolic authority, would make the word of "the Elders" themselves superfluous. It is not probable that one of the group would give any such unqualified endorsement to a Greek gospel, composed by a non-apostolic writer.

Nor does such appear to have been the fact. The Elders continue, as before, the guardians of orthodoxy and ultimate interpreters of the Lord's "commandments." John (if this be the Elder John) merely endorses the current opinion reflected in the title of the work as cited by Justin: "Memoirs (Ἀπομνημονεύματα) of Peter." It was doubtless accompanied (as custom prescribed) by the author's name, "according to (κατά) Mark." Whether the words "according to" should be understood in a closer or remoter sense is a question probably not considered either by questioner or informant. John tells the enquirer that Mark really was associated with Peter, though not at the time of writing, and that so far as he went he could be relied upon. No more can be assumed as intended. But even so much is extremely welcome by way of confirmation. It corroborates what critics would probably have concluded independently. At the same time it does not indicate any special knowledge on the part of the Elder as to the origin of the Gospel submitted. In fact the enquirer himself was probably far less concerned for knowledge as to the date and conditions of origin of the work than for assurance as to its orthodoxy and reliability. On these points he is reassured. According to the Elder, Mark fairly renders what he had heard from Peter.

The point of chief value in the judgment expressed is (strangely enough) that which we have most reason to regard as inference rather than transmitted information. The Elder's criticism of the "order" is almost certainly due to inference from the contents of the Gospel rather than to any knowledge through nearer or remoter channels of the circumstances of its composition. In other words the Elder does not know when Mark was written. He probably does not even know where it was written, beyond the self-evident fact that it was prepared for some Greek-speaking church: though it is far easier to get information as to the circles whence a book emanates than as to its date. The Elder does know (and here lies the true value of his testimony) the character of these loosely coördinated anecdotes, and he knows something of the life-story of Peter and Mark. In the document he recognizes at once, *because it is still in vogue in his time*, the typical preacher's story

in habitual use for synagogue and Church edification. The mere form of the compilation would tell him that it was rightly designated ἀπομνημονεύματα. The contents, "sayings and doings of the Lord," would tell him no less quickly that they were part of the accepted Petrine tradition. We have no need to suppose, nor are we justified in assuming, that he had special information in regard to the mode of composition of this Greek gospel from some far-off Gentile church. The Elder bases his judgment on the contents of the book. But for all that his judgment is far from worthless. It is the judgment of one who knew the oral Petrine tradition thoroughly, and could and did speak with authority. He considers the contents to be "miscellanies" (ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα) collected from Peter's teaching and preaching, but apart from Peter's personal supervision.

As we have already seen, the inference to a post-apostolic date cannot strictly be traced back to the Elder. It first appears as a positive statement in Irenaeus *ca.* 186, and probably is no more than an unreflecting interpretation of the word γενόμενος ("who had been") in the statement of Papias. But again, the fact that it is not a necessary inference does not prove it incorrect. On the contrary, the awkward and improbable suppositions to which later writers are compelled to resort in their endeavor to find some other interpretation in better harmony with their desire for a truly "apostolic" record, goes far to prove that the simple, natural inference of Irenaeus from the words of Papias was correct. Peter was no longer living. The Elder had not explicitly said so. His criticism of the "order" is probably given only to justify the term ἀπομνημονεύματα ("Recollections"). But the criticism is absolutely just. What else can account for the phenomena of the composition than just this, that the apostolic age, when a valid order could have been obtained by simple enquiry from the eye-witnesses, was already past?

Unless, then, we resort to groundless fancy we are bound to suppose that the Elder, and those who come after him, were simply drawing inferences from the contents of Mark. They are not reporting privately transmitted information. Nevertheless their inferences are of value because they are simple, natural, unstudied, based on general knowledge of the circumstances, precisely such as critics themselves would draw if not misled on the one side by exaggerated ideas of what could be known during the second century concerning the origin of the Gospels, and by exaggerated distrust on the other.

The point at which inferences begin to be drawn from apologetic

motives, using artificial combinations, is precisely that at which we begin to find disparity with the internal evidence. This belongs to the generation following the Elder. As we have seen, Papias is greatly concerned to prove the Gospel of Mark without error (*οὐδὲν ἥμαρτε Μάρκος*). To justify his employment of it on a level with the "Compend of the Lord's Precepts," which he ascribed to the Apostle Matthew (our own canonical Matthew), he needed to make its relation to Peter as close as possible. Mark could not be supposed to have heard *all* that Peter had to relate. Hence the non-appearance of large sections of Matthew. Nevertheless everything Mark did contain could be guaranteed. Papias strains the language of the Elder (*ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν*) to mean that Mark "omitted *nothing* that he had heard, and set down *nothing* amiss" (*μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαί τι ἐν αὐτοῖς*).

Papias was defending Church tradition against the claims of Gnostics like Basilides to have direct contact with Peter through other "interpreters" than Mark. For such defenders it was no small advantage to be able to appeal to the First Epistle of Peter, from which Eusebius tells us Papias "used testimonies." Its witness was particularly desirable on this vital point of the closeness of the relation of Peter to the *ἀπομνημονεύματα* which circulated as Peter's under authority of Mark. Hence Papias could not afford to be indifferent to the statement of I Pt. 5:13: "The church that is in Babylon, elect together with you, saluteth you; and so doth Mark my son." In Papias' time the words were assumed to have been written by Peter himself, and the language being evidently symbolical (Mark, Peter's spiritual "son," the churches, "sisters" in election) "Babylon" was held to be a cryptogram for Rome. It was all the easier for Papias to adopt this (probably correct) interpretation, because the same cryptogram is used in Rev. 17:5, a book of which Papias was the ardent champion. Here, then, the apologist against Gnostic charges of mutilation of the apostolic tradition could find evidence of the most convincing sort, and of precisely the kind he desired. Both Gospel and Epistle were understood to emanate from Rome (a belief which, whatever its origin, was probably correct), and the Epistle brought Peter incontrovertibly into immediate contact with Mark, in a relation of spiritual fatherhood, at precisely the time required; for the second century had not yet ventured to ascribe an early date to the Gospel of Mark. No wonder the author of the *Muratorianum,* if he mentioned First Peter at all (and his omission of it would be inexplicable), mentioned it only in connection with the Gospel of Mark, just as he has

done in the case of the First Epistle of John and the Gospel ascribed to that Apostle.

But modern criticism feels the gravest doubts regarding the authenticity of First Peter. All other writings ascribed to Peter, the Second Epistle, the *Gospel*, the *Apocalypse*, the *Preaching*, the *Acts*, are pseudonymous. Why should the first of the series be an exception? True, First Peter is older, better attested, of higher type than any of the rest. But *could* Peter write an epistle which but for the name attached we should certainly have ascribed to Paul? And if he could write an Epistle capable of being mistaken for Paul's, why should he? Had Peter no message of his own? The Christian communities addressed are no longer "the churches of Asia" (I Cor. 16:19) but are now grown to cover almost the entire Anatolian peninsula (I Pt. 1:1). We may therefore suppose that Paul had gone to his reward, and that his lieutenants, Silvanus and Mark, have consequently attached themselves to the great Apostle of the Circumcision. We may further suppose that Paul's mission field in Asia Minor, on account of the world-wide persecution which has broken out (I Pt. 4:12-19; 5:9), stands in peculiar need of a word of encouragement and brotherly support from brethren "in Babylon." But had Peter no independent gospel? Had he nothing to tell of his intercourse with the great Sufferer who is here depicted in the language of Isaiah? If Peter *could* perform such a feat, is it likely that he *would* send to the churches of Asia a letter so manifestly patterned after Ephesians that a modern critic of high reputation could actually regard them as written by the same author? Such are some of the objections to Petrine authorship. Modern criticism dares not classify the work as more than deutero-Petrine.

Considerations like the above may to some extent be met by concessions—if the concessions do not go to the extent of complete removal of the original claim. Thus Zahn would make Silvanus the immediate author of the writing, retaining Peter as instigator and framer of the composition. It could thus be Pauline in the circles addressed, Pauline in language, Pauline even in ideas, save for an infinitesimal remnant, but still Petrine in authorization. Peter would be alive at the time of writing and able to sign his name. The stigma of pseudonymity attaching to all other writings ascribed to the fisherman-apostle would thus be removed. Such is the object of the theory.

But the difficulty of date after the death of Peter is precisely the greatest of all. Ramsay himself found it impossible to accept the authenticity of the Epistle unless the lifetime of the Apostle could somehow be extended beyond the limits imposed by the unbroken

testimony of antiquity. Peter met a martyr's fate under Nero. Such is the universal testimony of the earliest writers, and there is not a trace of dissent. His fate even marks an epoch. It followed not long after Paul's, and signalized the close of the period of apostolic teaching. Clement thus uses it to show the falsity of the claims of Basilides. If we refuse to accept this epoch-making date of the death of Peter under Nero we discredit early tradition to the point where any incredulity is justified. But the conditions revealed in First Peter, whether of geographical, literary, and doctrinal development within the Church, or of political development in its relation to the government, are such as belong to a later time, not easily located before the reign of Domitian. In that case Silvanus, or whoever else of Paul's disciples was the immediate author of the Epistle, must have delayed the execution of his commission for several years. But once this concession is made the whole case is surrendered. This is to place ourselves at the real point of view of Christian antiquity, whose pseudonymous writers in using the name of Peter felt authorized to convey the message they were sure Peter would have wished to send, without other commission than their own conviction that so the great Apostle would have spoken under circumstances such as their own. Moderns find it hard to reconcile pseudonymity with their idea of straightforward dealing. But much depends on the custom of the age. Church and Synagogue alike were fully accustomed to the practice. In the present case, twenty years after Peter's well-known martyrdom, the use of Peter's name may have represented scarcely more than a transparent literary convention. At all events examples of pseudonymous letters, and especially of apocalypses or "prophecies," are frequent in the early literature of the Church.[2]

Uncertainty regarding the date and authorship of First Peter makes it difficult for the critic to use such evidence as might be derived from it bearing on the origin of Mark. We may reasonably disregard the literal interpretation of the word "Babylon" in I Pt. 5:13, assuming with leading authorities both ancient and modern that the term (whatever the motive) is symbolical, and the actual place of composition was Rome. In that case, pseudonymous or not, the document bears some evidence of the presence of both Peter and Mark in Rome at a date subsequent to the death of Paul. If authentic it supports the idea (whose beginnings we have ascribed to Papias, but which may be later) that Peter and his spiritual "son" after separation for a score of years were again brought into con-

[2] On this point compare the judicious remarks of Ropes *I.C.C.* on James, pp. 8 ff., 51.

tact, so that the work of gospel composition could be prepared for in direct and intimate association with the chief surviving witness. This conception is unquestionably responsible for the traditional view of the origin and character of the Gospel. It has shaped all ecclesiastical thinking on the subject since the second century. Its validity depends on the extent to which it agrees with the internal evidence. As we have seen, the Elder's testimony is not strictly against it. It only anticipates the judgment the modern critic would also pass upon the "Reminiscences." Does the character of the work suggest that it arose in the later years of Nero, or immediately after? Something further requires to be said concerning the reliability of this epoch, the death of Nero, but in substance the question as we have just stated it is that which must be considered by those who maintain the authenticity of First Peter.

Those who cannot admit the authenticity of First Peter must still reckon with its testimony on the question of Peter and Mark at Rome. For even if pseudonymous the author must have taken his stand on well-known facts regarding these leading characters of contemporary church history; for we may also disregard as needlessly extreme the late dating of First Peter which would place it under Trajan, identifying the persecution described with that referred to by Pliny. Now it is true that the expression "Babylon" in I Pt. 5:13 may well have been chosen by the author without any special reference to Rome, merely as a mask for the fictitious circumstances under which he writes. The "elect of the 'Dispersion'" in Anatolia are undergoing persecution. The "elect sister" is in captivity, of which "Babylon" is the classic symbol (Ps. 137:1). It is also supposable that Silvanus and Mark, names of significance to the Pauline churches addressed, are brought into association with Peter, representative of the Great Church since the death of Paul and James, without any actual contact in real life. Nevertheless the actual coming of Peter to Rome, even if only as a prisoner on his way to martyrdom, like Ignatius fifty years later, has strong traditional and archaeological support. It is probable therefore that I Pt. 5:13 rests on real fact, at least to this extent, that Peter actually was "carried away" (Jn. 21:18) from his flock in old age to suffer martyrdom at Rome.[3] Consequently the possibility would exist of contact there, contact nearer or more remote according to the conditions of Peter's "bonds" (Jn. 21:18), with Pauline lieutenants such as Silvanus and Mark, the latter of whom at least we might

[3] On the question of Peter's coming to Rome compare E. T. Merrill, *Essays in Early Christianity*, Macmillan, 1924. Professor Merrill rejects the tradition entirely.

well expect to find domiciled at Rome (II Tim. 4:11). Supposing First Peter to be a pseudonymous writing of some twenty years later the situation here implied would be a reasonable one on which to base a commendation of the teaching received through Silvanus, with (possibly) an indirect commendation of Mark's "Reminiscences" as well.

As between these two possible judgments of First Peter we have already indicated that which to us seems the more probable. Disagreement between primitive testimony and the internal evidence as to the origin of Mark begins with the attempt of Papias to bring the Elder's statement regarding the "Reminiscences" into relation with I Pt. 5:13. The object of the statement was to explain the lack of "order." The relation of the ἀπομνημονεύματα to the facts as Peter would have told them to any enquirer is *not* close. It is remote. The evangelist has *not* such a τάξις, logical or chronological, as any close associate of the Apostle would surely display if near him at the time of writing. Zahn had the acumen to perceive this, and therefore justly demands that the testimony of the Elder be interpreted as referring exclusively to the period *before* the association of Mark with Paul. A *second* period of association at Rome toward the end of Peter's life, such as Papias conjectures on the basis of I Pt. 5:13, would of course be at least as influential in determining the τάξις of the Gospel; but Zahn seems to regard this as of no consequence.

Later apologists for Mark naturally followed in the footsteps of Papias. They were doubtless right as to the *provenance* of both the Epistle and the Gospel. Even at the close of the second century something could still be known on such a point apart from internal indications. "Babylon" in I Pt. 5:13, interpreted with Papias, would be the main reliance of those who sought to defend Rome's claim. The Roman apologists were also right in maintaining (for a time) that the Gospel was not written till after the death of Peter and Paul. Perhaps earlier generations still understood why so late a date was imperative. Later generations certainly did not. These insist on making the relation between Apostle and evangelist closer and closer till Mark becomes a mere automaton. Side by side with this increasing extravagance of the claim to apostolicity runs inventive fancy, supplying new and increasingly improbable explanations of the deficiencies which the aid of an eye-witness would have supplied. According to Clement Peter "learned of" Mark's undertaking, but "neither directly forbade nor encouraged it." Eusebius makes "the Spirit" responsible for the information conveyed to Peter, and offsets the strange indifference he appeared (on Clement's statement) to display toward Mark's undertaking by declar-

ing that he "commended the Gospel to the churches." With Jerome we reach such claims as earlier apologists would gladly have made but for their clearer realization of the difficulties involved. Peter now dictates the Gospel to Mark just in the form in which it stands.

All this later modification of the tradition is just so much testimony to the reluctance of later apologists to admit what the earliest testimony frankly avowed: that Mark had not the true "order" and could not obtain it because the age of the eye-witnesses was past. As Papias expressed it: "He was not a follower of the Lord, but afterwards, as I said, of Peter."

We cannot be quite certain who first began this appeal to I Pt. 5:13 as supplementing and defining the meaning of the Elder. It clearly was *not* the Elder himself. It was probably Papias. Possibly Clement should have the credit. Either way the important question is not the origin, but the validity of the appeal. Can it properly be argued from I Pt. 5:13 that Mark was associated with Peter at Rome after the death of Paul, and if so can this association have continued down to a date subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem? In the former case the apologetic development of the later tradition will have better ground. Explain as we may the remoteness of the apparent relation of the evangelist to eye-witnesses, Mark will at least have been near to Peter in his later years, able (apart from possible obstacles not apparent in the Epistle) to refresh his youthful memories of the Apostle's reminiscences. In the latter case there will be at least a better chance for dating within the apostolic age.

The arguments adduced in the preceding treatise[4] in favor of a date *ca.* 87 A.D. for First Peter, and a Roman provenance, need not here be repeated. If these conclusions are correct the symbolism of the conclusion of the Epistle, corresponding in some degree with its opening lines, is the indispensable "mask of pseudonymity." Explicit mention of the place from which and that to which the Epistle was written would have tended to destroy the illusion. Nevertheless "Babylon" was rightly taken by the ancients as standing for Rome (whether so intended or not), and the Anatolian churches really were those to whom the encouragement under persecution was addressed. The persecution will have been that of Domitian, which is the same looked forward to as about to break forth in Hebrews, a writing probably known to the writer of First Peter. The names employed are those which would carry most weight for the writer's purpose of brotherly encouragement, "Peter," who as the great companion apostle of Paul would speak with most authority in such

[4] *Harvard Theol. Studies,* VII, pp. 23-30.

a message, "Silvanus," associated with Paul in the founding of most of these churches, and "Mark," also associated with Paul in relation to these churches (Col. 4:10), and in addition Peter's own spiritual "son." This epithet for Mark is chosen with reference to the relations of Mark's boyhood described in Acts 12:12, and may have reference also to the authorship of the Gospel, which was probably already in circulation by 87 A.D. The pseudonymous author of First Peter, accordingly, would have it understood that Peter and Mark were again thrown together toward the close of the Apostle's life. He held (rightly or wrongly) to the idea that "Babylon" (Rome?) was the scene of this reunion of spiritual father and son, thus linking together the mission fields of Peter and Paul. Of Paul himself no single syllable is uttered, and this is one of the serious obstacles to the authenticity of the Epistle, addressed as it is to churches of Pauline foundation. The omission is strange on any supposition, stranger as we go back toward Paul's martyrdom. The commendation of Silvanus, and especially of Mark, does not make amends, but may be an unconscious substitute.

The evidence thus elicited from First Peter is slight and dubious, but should not be neglected. The author may be regarded as writing *ca.* 87 A.D. He appears already embued with the idea (seemingly present in Clement *ad Cor.* v. 4 and vi. 1, and gradually reaching the surface through Jn. 21:18, Dionysius of Corinth, and later fathers) that Peter in his old age (Jn. 21:18) was carried prisoner to Rome, and there suffered martyrdom, not long after Paul. In fact according to Dionysius the martyrdom was "on the same occasion" (*πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν*). The testimony is not above suspicion, and has in fact been vigorously assailed, but taken in conjunction with the archaeological evidence for the tomb of Peter at Rome (a boast asserted without denial before the close of the second century) it claims our credence. To deny that Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome not long after Paul would be to show less of historical impartiality than of unreasonable skepticism. If such was the Apostle's fate we can well understand that Pseudo-Peter, writing at least a score of years later, should conceive of him as enjoying the same freedom of intercourse enjoyed by Paul in similar captivity (Acts 28:30 f.), and in addition as resuming former relations with Mark. Whether Peter actually did have opportunity to teach at Rome, or actually did come again into contact with Mark, even for the briefest interchange, is of course quite a different question.

CHAPTER XXI

THE DATE OF PETER'S 'DEPARTURE'

HARNACK has brought out with clearness in his *Chronologie* that the primitive Church had two epoch-making dates, one "twelve years" from the crucifixion, determining the end of the *locus penitentiae* of Israel and the beginning of evangelization of the Gentiles. This was very definitely marked by the persecution of Agrippa, which cost James son of Zebedee his life, and compelled Peter to leave Jerusalem. We have seen how definitely this epoch was fixed in early Christian thought in our study of the Little Apocalypse presupposed in the Thessalonian Epistles. The crucifixion was dated in 29-30 A.D. The persecution of Agrippa began in 41-42, Peter's flight from Jerusalem taking place at Passover 42. It was therefore just "twelve years," as the tradition maintained, from the crucifixion, which on astronomical grounds must be dated in A.D. 30 rather than 29.[1]

The other epoch was fixed by the death of Nero, twenty-six years later (June 9, 68), or more exactly by the death of Peter, which was determined in round numbers as having occurred "in the twelfth year of Nero," twenty-five years after Peter's departure from Jerusalem (67 A.D.). Peter's martyrdom was followed (as had been that of James son of Zebedee) by the grewsome end of the persecutor, a fact which may have helped to fix the date in mind. According to Harnack, the date of Peter's death was obtained by adding together the two periods of the apostolic age, "twelve years" of evangelization among the Jews, twenty-four (sometimes 25) among the Gentiles. The application of the "forty years" of Ps. 95:10 to unbelieving Israel in Heb. 3:17 suggests that the outbreak of the Jewish war and death of Nero (June 9, 68) may have fixed the latter. At all events the date of Peter's departure from Jerusalem was ultimately assumed to coincide with his arrival in Rome, his stay in the world-metropolis covering the whole period of the evangelization of the Gentiles. Clement of Alexandria, as we have seen, is so preoccupied with this traditional chronology that in attempting to refute the claims of Basilides he asserts roundly that the teaching of the Apostles did not extend after the reign of Nero, apparently forgetting, for the time being, the excep-

[1] J. K. Fotheringham in *Journal of Philology*, XXIX (1903), pp. 100-118.

tional case of John, with whom, of course, Basilides made no claim of direct relation. In reality the death of Paul *ca.* 61, of James in 62, and of Peter some three years later, left the Church deprived of all the great apostolic leaders, with possible exception of John concerning whom the tradition was in dispute. The age of the teaching of the apostles might well seem to have reached its end with the martyrdom of Peter "under Nero," whose violent end (approximately) "forty years" after the crucifixion would easily form a second epoch of the Church. Certainly the fact is not without significance that so early, so learned, and so painstaking a chronographer as Clement should fix this epoch, while passing over entirely the tradition elsewhere accepted by himself of the "aged" John at Ephesus. The martyrdom of Paul and Peter "under Nero" is a date which cannot be set aside by any evidence yet available.

The journey of Peter directly from Jerusalem to Rome, long an accepted interpretation of Acts 12:17 ("he departed and went to *another place*"), has in recent times been generally abandoned as incompatible with the references of Paul to Peter's missionary activities in various quarters, his stay at Antioch, attested not only in Gal. 2:11, but by early and reliable tradition, and above all as excluded by the implications of Romans. It is impossible to suppose that this Epistle would have contained no reference to the fact if Peter had already visited Rome. In like manner the later Pauline Epistles make it practically certain that Peter did not come to Rome, if at all, until after these were written. The first suggestion of any residence of Peter in Rome is in the doubtful expression "Babylon" of I Pt. 5:13; and First Peter, as we have seen, cannot in any event be regarded as an early writing. Its dependence on Romans and Ephesians would alone suffice to prove it of later date than these. But it still remains to show whether, post-Pauline as the Epistle is, it may not be placed within the lifetime of its reputed author.

The closing years of Nero's reign, following the martyrdom of Paul and the great fire in Rome in the summer of 64, which Nero made the pretext for his savage onslaught on the Christians of the city, are not the period from which such a letter would naturally emanate. If Peter was in any sense its author, Rome the place from which he was writing, and the churches founded by Paul in Anatolia the brotherhoods addressed, we have a right to expect that there would be some reflection of conditions as they were at Rome, and at least some mention of Paul and his heroic fate. Only a date after the death of Nero makes it conceivable that Peter should have written without reference to this situation. A post-Neronic date is

made still more inevitable by the author's references to official persecution of Christians "throughout the world," not because of particular crimes, the *flagitia cohaerentia nomini,* of which Nero's victims had been accused, but because of the Name itself. Neronic persecutions were not "for the Name." In First Peter suffering may be "for the Name," just as in Mark one who does the believer a kindness "in name that he is of Christ will in no wise lose his reward" (Mk. 9:41). A study of the conditions which could give birth to a gospel such as Mark, with its exaltation of martyrdom as the true path of "eternal life" (Mk. 8:28-10:45), would not be complete without some survey of the outbreak of Roman persecution which began under Nero.

Doubtless the cruelty of Nero at Rome gave the signal for mob violence in many quarters throughout the Empire. In Anatolia particularly, Jewish hatred was ever on the alert, and the powerful protection Paul had enjoyed from his Roman friends (Acts 19:31) would be paralyzed in view of the precedents set at Rome. But even the precedents set at Rome did not permit the kind of condemnation that is assumed to be possible in First Peter. On this point Sir William M. Ramsay speaks with authority, and he has so clearly set forth the difficulty (if not impossibility) of dating First Peter before the death of Nero that we need only refer here to his well-known chapters IX-XIII in *The Church in the Roman Empire.* These conclude with an effort to place the Apostle's death at a later date, thus permitting us to regard the Epistle as authentic. If this be indeed possible it will have a bearing on our present enquiry too important to be ignored. It will not indeed involve an earlier dating for the Gospel, since Peter's lifetime might easily on this theory be carried down even to the reign of Domitian, and that of Mark (whose work as writer of the Gospel is assumed to be subsequent to Peter's death) would be later still. But if there was this later period of years of association between Peter and Mark at Rome, after the death of Paul, as Papias and later apologists assume, our conception of the circumstances of origin of the Gospel can hardly fail to take on a very different aspect. We have need, therefore, to consider whether the ancient epoch of Peter's death was in reality well founded, or whether the primitive church was in error in holding it to have taken place "under Nero."

On the subject of Roman law and its application to church affairs in the first century Sir William speaks with authority. On questions of New Testament criticism he hardly claims to offer an unbiased opinion. His own explanation of how he was brought to set aside as erroneous the primitive date for the death of Peter is

interesting, and has a bearing on the merits of the question. A footnote (p. 283) explains that "In the original lectures this date (about 80 A.D.) was treated as inconsistent with Petrine authorship. A conversation with Dr. Hort suggested the view now taken" (that "while the tradition that St. Peter perished at Rome is strong and early, the tradition about the date of his death is not so clear").

Had Sir William's attention been directed to the passage in the *Stromateis* of Clement (VII, xvii. 106 f.) to which reference has been already so frequently made, he would hardly have made this statement concerning the tradition as to the date of Peter's death. Since it is not referred to in his discussion of the subject we should perhaps adduce it in full.

The teaching of the Lord came to an end half-way in the reign of Tiberius. That of his Apostles ended under Nero, extending to the "offering" (λειτουργία, that is, the martyrdom) of Paul. Afterwards, about the times of the Emperor Hadrian, appeared those who introduce the heresies, and prolonged their days until the reign of the elder Antoninus, even as does this Basilides, in spite of his claiming Glaukias as his teacher, calling him (as they have the effrontery to do) the interpreter (ἑρμηνεύς) of Peter.[2]

Sir William also refers, in the note already cited, to Lightfoot's Excursus in Vol. II of his *Clement* (p. 494 ff.) as the source of his argument for a date nearer to Clement's times (*ca.* 90 A.D.) for the death of Peter. Had he also consulted Lightfoot's exhaustive study of the whole question of dating by the Roman succession, which occupies a larger part of the preceding volume, instead of limiting himself to the brief Excursus based upon it in Vol. II, he would have found on p. 64 the following simple and complete explanation of the apparent discrepancy in Tertullian on which he bases his whole case for a variant tradition at Rome making Peter the immediate predecessor of the Roman Clement.

The Clementine romance (Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*) emanated from Syria or some neighbouring country, and betrays no knowledge of Rome or the Roman Church. A leading idea in this fiction is the exaltation of its hero Clement, whom it makes the depositary of the apostolic tradition. The author's ignorance left him free to indulge his invention. He therefore represented Clement as the immediate successor of St. Peter, consecrated by the Apostle in his own lifetime. Though the date of this work cannot have been earlier than the middle of the second century, yet the glorification of Rome and the Roman bishop obtained for it an early

[2] Διδασκαλία τοῦ Κυρίου τελείουται μεσούντων τῶν τοῦ Τιβερίου χρόνων. ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ μέχρι γὲ τῆς Παύλου λειτουργίας ἐπὶ Νέρωνος τελείουται. Κάτω δὲ περὶ τοὺς Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως χρόνους οἱ τὰς αἱρέσεις ἐπινοήσαντες γεγόνασι. καὶ μέχρι γὲ τῆς Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου διέτειναν ἡλικίας, καθάπερ ὁ Βασιλίδης, κὰν Γλαύκιαν ἐπιγράφηται διδάσκαλον, ὡς αὔχουσιν αὐτοί, τὸν Πέτρον ἑρμηνέα.

and wide circulation in the West. *Accordingly even Tertullian speaks of Clement as the immediate successor of St. Peter.* This position, however, is not assigned to him in any list of the Roman bishops, but only appears in this father as an isolated statement.

This is by no means mere unsupported conjecture, which Lightfoot was not in the habit of giving. He states clearly on p. 344 that we have no means of determining

whether Tertullian, when he states that the Roman Church recorded Clement to have been ordained by St. Peter, and himself therefore presumably regards Clement as the Apostle's next successor in the episcopate, was influenced directly or indirectly by the Clementine fiction, or whether it was his own independent inference drawn from the fact that Clement had been a hearer of St. Peter.[3]

On the other hand Lightfoot traces back the endeavor to reconcile the Roman succession (which invariably makes Linus the successor of Peter) with the Clementine romance a full generation before Tertullian. He lets us see it in various stages of its development till no doubt can reasonably remain. Thus by one of the most brilliant examples of documentary criticism he demonstrates the derivation from the *Memoirs* of Hegesippus (*ca.* 168) of the following passage from Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxvii. 6):

But possibly after Clement was appointed and had waived his claims (if indeed it did so happen, for I only surmise it, I do not affirm it), subsequently after the death of Linus and Cletus, when they had held the bishopric twelve years each after the death of Sts. Peter and Paul, which happened in the twelfth year of Nero (A.D. 65), he (Clement) was again obliged to take the bishopric. Howbeit the succession of the bishops in Rome is as follows; Peter and Paul, Linus and Cletus, Clement, Euarestus, Alexander, Xystus, Telesphorus, Pius, Anicetus, who has been mentioned above in the catalogue.

Not only Hegesippus (in the fragment here quoted), but Irenaeus after him (*Haer.* III, iii. 3) tries to square the claims of the Romance with the dates of the succession, by making Clement *at the same time* third from Peter and Paul, and *also* "one who had been a hearer of the blessed Apostles and been conversant with them"; though he does not support his harmonistic theory by appeal (as Hegesippus had done) to the passage in the *Epistle* of Clement (liv.) urging the waiver of just claims for the sake of the Church's peace.

We need not pursue further with Lightfoot the disturbing effect

[3] Not improbably the Roman Clement's own reference (*ad Cor.* v.) to Peter and Paul as belonging to "our own generation" (*ὑποδείγματα τῆς γενεᾶς ἡμῶν*) may have had a share in giving rise to this belief.

upon certain variant forms of the Roman episcopal catalogue of this endeavor to make of Clement in the West a counterpart of Polycarp in the East as a disciple of the Apostles and ordained by them. Nothing could be more thorough and scholarly than Lightfoot's demonstration. The succession, which placed Linus and Cletus (Anencletus in Irenaeus) between Clement and the martyred Apostles, gives the true history. The Syrian romance has brought to it only the embellishment of legend.

Lightfoot certainly makes it highly probable in his later Excursus (Vol. II, pp. 490 ff.) that Peter was brought to Rome not far from the time of the Neronic persecution (64-65), and did become a victim there in the Vatican gardens of Nero's fantastic cruelties, shortly before or after the martyrdom of Paul. But if anything could be clearer from his demonstration than the legendary origin of the claim that he ordained Clement, it would be the groundlessness of Sir William's assertion that "Roman tradition during the latter part of the second century placed the martyrdom much later than the time of Nero." The only basis alleged for this assertion is the passage from Tertullian already referred to (*De Prescript.* 32) which claims ordination by Peter for Clement. Tertullian himself refutes this. Indeed even Sir William admits that "Tertullian also in one passage (*Scorp.* xv.) seems to assign it (the martyrdom of Peter) to the time of Nero." But he points out that "in another passage" (the *De Prescriptione*)

> he mentions the tradition of the Roman Church that Clement was ordained by St. Peter. The latter passage is the strongest evidence which we possess upon the point, and it clearly proves that the Roman tradition during the latter part of the second century placed the martyrdom much later than the time of Nero.

If "the strongest evidence which we possess" for a post-Neronic date of Peter's death is no stronger than this alleged discrepancy between two passages of Tertullian the contention is weak indeed. Lightfoot has made unmistakable the legendary source of Tertullian's claim that the Roman Clement had been ordained by Peter. It rests on no better foundation than the Syrian romance of the *Clementina*. Others, such as Hegesippus, who attempted the same identification of the Roman bishop with the hero of the Romance, did not change the accepted date of Peter's death to claim this apostolic ordination. They merely carried back Clement's ordination to the times of Nero, holding up his alleged suppression of his rights during the intervening bishoprics of Linus and Anencletus as an example of self-abnegation which should appeal to the Co-

rinthians who had rebelled against bishops appointed by the Apostles in favor of appointees of their own. If Hegesippus could thus carry back the ordination of Clement we have no reason for supposing that Tertullian could not do the same. His statement in *Scorp.* xv. is clear proof that he had no more doubt than anyone else that Peter was martyred "under Nero." Tertullian, then, simply joins the unbroken ranks of the series of witnesses who attest from the beginning this primitive date for the "departure" of the Apostolic witnesses.

There was, of course, a natural tendency to approximate in time the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, which had actually taken place within a very few years of one another, under the same tyrant, at the same great "Babylon" drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus (Rev. 17:6). It is significant of this approximation, as well as of the uncertainty regarding the precise year, that Origen, among others, places the martyrdom of Peter first. The Roman Clement, less than a generation after the event, associates the two great martyrs, whose shrines were cherished at Rome as the chief glory of its church as early as the time of Gaius (180-200). Addressing the Corinthians *ca.* 95 A.D. Clement speaks (ch. v) of Peter and Paul, in contrast with such Old Testament martyrs as Abel, Joseph, Moses, and David, as "examples belonging to our own generation," an expression which later writers would naturally strain to the utmost. But he certainly does not mean that these martyrdoms had occurred recently, since he adds:

> Unto these men of holy lives was gathered a vast multitude of the elect, who through many indignities and tortures, being the victims of jealousy, set a brave example among ourselves.

Ignatius, a score of years later, writing to the Roman church, again associates the two (*ad Rom.* iv.) as having "laid commandments on" those at Rome. Like Polycarp, his friend and fellow-bishop, Ignatius probably knew First Peter and would of course be influenced by it. Dionysius of Corinth writes to Soter of Rome *ca.* 170 referring to the double martyrdom as having taken place *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν*. Obviously the catalogue of Roman bishops and the tradition of the joint martyrdom have a common starting-point, which is no other than the date assumed by Clement of Alexandria as the basis of his chronology, the martyrdom of Peter and Paul "under Nero."

It is true, then, that "the tradition that St. Peter perished in Rome is strong and early." But it is far from the fact to say that

"the tradition about the date of his death is not so clear." We might almost reverse this statement. The tradition is primarily chronological rather than geographical. It marked an epoch, the beginning of the End. To later writers its chief value lay in establishing direct relation with the apostolic generation, though it could also be turned to account in glorification of Rome, as compared with some other apostolic sees. It was general and not local only, and goes back to a Roman writer who could refer to the martyrdom as an "example to our own generation." Irenaeus, therefore, when he dates the writing of Matthew "while Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the church in Rome," and continues: "After their departure (ἔξοδος), Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing those things which Peter had preached," is giving no vague and general chronology. He is using the common and accepted epoch for the end of the apostolic age, the "departure" of Peter and Paul at Rome "under Nero." The date is fixed variously from the twelfth year of Nero (65 A.D.)[4] to the fourteenth, according to the precise number of years reckoned from the epoch of the martyrdom of James and Peter's flight from Jerusalem (42). But the mention of Paul makes it certain that by "departure" Irenaeus means "martyrdom" (*cf.* Heb. 13:7, ἡ ἔκβασις) and even the variation as to the precise year of Nero's reign makes it the more certain that there was no variation concerning the fact that it was "under Nero."

Later apologetic busied itself, as we have already noted, with the creation of a twenty-five year pastorate of Peter at Rome. Not by any attempt such as Ramsay's to bring down the date of his martyrdom beyond the reign of Nero (a date which Soltau believed had never been disputed), but by bringing the Apostle of the circumcision to the metropolis of Gentile Christianity *before* the coming of Paul! Disregarding the intention of the ancient tradition to account for the non-apostolic "order" of Mark's Gospel, intent only on attaching to it the highest possible authority attainable through nearness to the eye-witnesses, transcribers seized upon the literal sense of the term "departure" (ἔξοδος), employed by Irenaeus in a conventional symbolic usage, and applied it to Peter's departure *from Jerusalem* "twelve years" after the crucifixion. By this means Rome obtained a great accession to its claims as an

[4] So Hegesippus *ap.* Epiphanius. But even if we could be sure of Hegesippus as authority the date is suggestive of the method of round numbers ("twelve years" from the crucifixion to Peter's departure from Jerusalem, "twelve years" for Linus his successor at Rome, "twelve years" for Anencletus). It was probably an approximation to the date of Nero's persecution (64-65).

apostolic see, and at the same time the Gospel of Mark was given a closer relation to Peter. Thus some of the later uncials and cursives append a subscription to the Gospel declaring that this Gospel was published "twelve years after the ascension of Christ." The source of the date is self-evident, and is only made more obvious by the variant of some manuscripts giving "ten" as the number of years. The source is the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, which displays the same variation. Eusebius gave this date in fact as that for Mark's "preaching the gospel in Egypt and Alexandria," later writers taking this to be "the Gospel" of Mark. Eusebius refers of course to the epoch of the apostolic "departure" from Jerusalem, when Peter was in reality first separated from Mark, who accompanied Barnabas not many years after 42 A.D. at least to Cyprus and possibly even to Alexandria (Acts 15:39). The best texts of the *Chronicon* give the date for this "preaching" of Mark as the *third* year of Claudius (43 A.D.), that represented by the Armenian gives it as the *first* (41). The two dates are meant to designate "twelve" and "ten" years after the crucifixion, respectively, according to the reckoning followed in each case. In his *History* (II, xiv. xv) Eusebius makes this same date ("during the reign of Claudius") that of Peter's going to Rome, where in company with Peter he writes the Gospel, *afterward* carrying it with him to Alexandria.

The curious variation of Chrysostom (*proem. in Matt.*) from the otherwise uniform representation of the tradition that the Gospel was written in Rome, is due to a similar explanation of its lack of apostolic supervision. Mark performs his work of writing the Gospel immediately after separation from Peter. The episcopal succession at Alexandria claimed Mark as its founder (perhaps with some ground after his work with Barnabas in Cyprus). Hence according to Chrysostom the request of disciples for the composition and its satisfaction by the evangelist, which all other witnesses refer to Rome, was "in Egypt." As these sporadic attempts in antiquity to date the Gospel shortly after 42 A.D. are quite obviously based on utterances which in their earliest form merely state that after Peter's "departure" Mark "preached the gospel" (sometimes as in Euseb. *H.E.* II, xvi. "preached that Gospel of which he is a compiler") in Egypt or elsewhere, they are rightly disregarded by even the most conservative of modern critics. In cases where they receive some mention, as by Salmond (Hastings' *B.D. s.v.* "Mark," Vol. III, p. 261b) reference is usually made to Harnack's *Chronologie,* pp. 70 and 124. The reader who looks up his reference will find that it has nothing whatever to do with the composition of the Gospel, but simply gives the third year of Claudius

(variants from first to third year) as the date when "Mark the evangelist who had been Peter's interpreter, *preached Christ* in Egypt and Alexandria."[5]

The outcome of this enquiry into the testimony of antiquity is not materially different from results obtained by others. The one point in which all really ancient authorities agree is that the Gospel was written after the "departure" of Peter. The attempt of later writers to substitute some other "departure" for that which Irenaeus clearly indicates by including "Paul" as well as Peter, an attempt accompanied and characterized by awkward expedients to find some other reason why the better "order" which Peter could have supplied is not to be found in the Gospel, only serves to emphasize the connection made by our oldest informant between the admitted defect and its cause. Papias tells us that Mark had no access to first-hand witnesses. Since it is to explain this defect of the Gospel that the statement is adduced, and since such a situation is not reasonably supposable in the period while hundreds of eye-witnesses and many of the Apostles (including Peter) were still alive (I Cor. 9:5; 15:6) one must assume, whether the Elder made the explicit statement or not, that Irenaeus and earlier authorities were right in understanding his testimony to refer to the *death* of Peter. The period of the teaching of the Apostles, as Clement of Alexandria says, ended with the reign of Nero (*ob.* 68 A.D.). Clement probably made tacit exception of John, whom he believed to have attained a great age. But in its origin the tradition cannot have contemplated any such exception. It was meant to include all the leading Apostles and eye-witnesses. It had special reference to Peter, whose report of the sayings and doings of the Lord was primarily concerned. We can only conclude that church teachers in the period of the Elder were quite well aware that the miscellaneous arrangement of Mark's material was not an authentic "order," and that in taking this exception to an otherwise commendable work they meant to characterize it as in the full sense of the term "post-apostolic."

We have sought to give just and impartial consideration to every known element of the external evidence bearing on the date and composition of Mark. The testimony readily falls into two component parts, the primitive witness of the Elder cited by Papias; and the apologetic, beginning with Papias himself. The testimony

[5] After the careful discussion given to this relatively late evidence by Zahn, Swete, and others, it is hardly needful to give it further consideration. The reader may, however, be referred to the discussion by the present writer on p. 21 of *Harvard Theological Studies,* Vol. VII.

of the Elder contains two factors of value, (1) the implied nature of the document submitted, which was then as now ascribed to Mark, and probably bore the title by which it is known to Justin (contemporary of Papias) of "Reminiscences of Peter" (Ἀπομνημονεύματα Πέτρου; *cf. Dial.* cvi.); (2) the Elder's own judgment of its contents as compared with oral tradition, still current in his time (*ca.* 110). This testimony should be welcomed as of the utmost value. Both in antiquity and for moderns it represents the criticism of a group called "the Elders, the disciples (μαθηταί), or successors (διαδόχοι), of the Apostles," proud of their function as guardians of orthodoxy and heirs of oral tradition. The judgment is pronounced upon our earliest extant record of the sayings and doings of the Lord. No other discount need be made from it than is incident to the perhaps exaggerated importance attached by the Elders to their own office as representatives of the Apostles. All that the testimony requires is to be understood in the sense it would bear to the Elder's contemporaries, and this sense we have endeavored to give. The testimony amounts to this: the Gospel of Mark is really what it purports to be, a miscellany of sayings and doings of the Lord collected from reminiscences of Peter. But it is no more than this. It is done with care and faithfulness, but it is not what it would have been had an Apostle been concerned in its composition.

The second component of the external evidence for the Gospel consists of the apologetic development of the Elder's testimony. It begins with Papias, and is probably based on a combination of I Pt. 5:13 with the testimony. If not due to Papias the combination is certainly made by Clement (who refers to Papias in making it) and by those who follow. The passage in question brings Mark into renewed relations with Peter toward the close of the Apostle's life, and thus forms the starting-point for explanatory developments. The question is at once raised why the Apostle should in that case have permitted the defect noted by the Elder. Friction between new and old is already apparent. The two factors, criticism and apologetic, are in conflict. Hence explanations, one following another, but without new knowledge.

The element of value in the apologetic development is limited to the New Testament passage on which it rests. If First Peter can be received as the actual writing of the Apostle it does imply actual contact between Mark and his spiritual father late in Peter's life, and probably at Rome, here designated "Babylon." The date would necessarily be limited to the brief time between the death of Paul and that of Peter "under Nero"; for the attempt to displace this fixed point of primitive chronology collapses completely under criti-

cal scrutiny. The supposition of renewed relations between Peter and Mark after Paul's death is improbable. Even more improbable is the writing of First Peter shortly after the death of Paul by his companion Apostle without mention of Paul's name. Disregarding such compromises as Harnack's attempt to divide the Epistle by discarding as spurious the beginning and end (including 5:13), or suggestions of some other author (McGiffert: "Barnabas," Zahn and others: "Silvanus"), we are compelled to assume pseudonymity as the most probable explanation of the obscurities at the beginning and end of the writing. As Professor Ropes has recently said concerning the so-called Epistle of James, a writing but a few years later in date,

> The epistle has been assigned to many dates and several places of origin, and is held by many to be a genuine writing of James the Lord's brother; but it is probably the pseudonymous production of a Christian of Jewish origin, living in Palestine in the last quarter of the first century or the first quarter of the second.

What is here asserted with equal boldness and good judgment of the Epistle of James may be said, *mutatis mutandis,* of First Peter. It stands on a far higher level, both religiously and from a literary point of view, than the remainder of the numerous Petrine pseudonyms, but cannot be taken as reflecting real historical conditions in 64-67 A.D. We may regard it as highly probable that Peter actually was brought to Rome at about this date, carried away in bonds from the flock he had been serving (Jn. 21:18), like Ignatius a half-century later, to meet a martyr fate. This tradition is well established both as regards place and date, and the writer of First Peter doubtless builds upon it. But we are not warranted in assuming on this basis a contact between Peter and Mark such as would largely nullify the Elder's testimony. Mark may have been in Rome at the time. It is likely to have been his headquarters for a period after the death of Paul. But the chance of his having had opportunity to renew the association of his youth with Peter is too remote to serve for more than pious fancy in the Roman brotherhood a score of years after Peter's death. We may probably infer from I Pt. 5:13 that Mark really remained connected with the Roman church for some time after Paul's death, and that his early connection with Peter was an important and growing element in the authority attached to his teaching. Mark's association with Paul is likely to have been the really determining factor in his religious convictions. But for a Church in whose eyes the figure of Peter was already beginning to assume almost superhuman importance

the predominant claim of Mark to be an interpreter of the sayings and doings of the Lord was that he had been spiritually the "son" of Peter. More than this cannot reasonably be inferred from the reference in I Pt. 5:13, except on the very improbable supposition of its derivation from Peter himself shortly before or after the martyrdom of Paul.

CHAPTER XXII

INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF AUTHORSHIP

The judgment of the second century on the Gospel of Mark expressed in general terms was that it was indeed "according to Mark," but post-apostolic. In endorsing the superscription "According to Mark" it expressed no opinion as to the closeness of Mark's relation to the work, since the preposition κατά was used in this connection in a very general way. It might imply personal authorship, as in the case of Matthew, or merely authorization, as in the case of the Gospel "according to" the Hebrews. In declaring the work post-apostolic the second-century fathers meant to place it in the period subsequent to the reign of Nero; for the martyrdom of Peter and Paul "under Nero" was their accepted terminus for "the teaching of the Apostles." They paid comparatively slight attention to the fall of Jerusalem.

The Gospel seems to have been declared post-apostolic because of the nature, and more especially the arrangement, of its contents. Its "order" was judged, at first absolutely, later by comparison with Matthew, and found wanting. We have endeavored to show that this judgment was sound. Not, indeed, in its later form, by comparison with Matthew, but as originally intended. Notoriously the record does consist merely of a series of anecdotes, limited to the public ministry, usually assumed to cover a single year but without real chronology or relation to contemporary history, a miscellany of "sayings and doings of the Lord," selected for purposes of edification rather than history, and strung together so loosely that events follow sometimes without sequence, sometimes in impossible sequence, always in that sequence which was fitted to the religious and apologetic occasion (πρὸς τὰς χρείας), rather than the chronological order. We may take the language of Loisy, one of the keenest of modern critics, as fairly stating the case from this point of view.

> Like every religious legend (that is, uncritical story) the oldest of the Gospels is a legend of miracle. But closely scrutinized this legend is remarkably meagre in material and in addition very badly put together. A few anecdotes badly connected, a few brief sayings. When the story appears to run in better sequence, as in the passion narrative, it is interrupted by

secondary attachments. When the discourse is a little extended it turns out to be a compilation ill adapted to the circumstances described.[1]

Critics of the second century (we do not say apologists) were no more blind to the nature of this miscellany than moderns. Unlike ourselves they had direct cognizance of other "narratives" (διηγήσεις), and "compilations of the precepts" (συντάξεις τῶν λογίων), such as our Gospels presuppose and embody. The earliest witness, the Elder, had also direct acquaintance with the still-flowing though turbid stream of oral tradition. In these respects ancient critics were better qualified than moderns. When, therefore, they characterize this Gospel as a post-apostolic miscellany of anecdotes from the story of the ministry, gathered from the preaching of Peter, but not so arranged as would have been the case had the Apostle himself been consulted (and such is the real purport of the testimony, apart from apologetic), modern criticism must confirm the judgment.

The remaining question is whether modern criticism can go beyond the mere interpretation and confirmation of ancient testimony, and draw further inferences of its own. How strictly should the ambiguous term "according to" be taken? How long was that indefinite interval covered by the expression "after the death of Peter and Paul?" These are questions for extreme nicety of judgment, allowing, therefore, of no dogmatic insistence. There are, however, certain phenomena of the contents and composition of the Gospel, covered already in a general way by our survey, which permit the drawing of inferences of some value. These must now be considered. The general nature, structure, contents, and composition of the Gospel are sufficient to confirm the judgment of antiquity as to its post-apostolic origin. These, as already examined, are sufficient to prove that it was not put together during Paul's lifetime, when the greater part of a body of "more than five-hundred" eyewitnesses were still living in Jerusalem (I Cor. 15:6), nor yet merely after the death of Peter, but (in accordance with the grounds rather than the mere language of the ancient criticism) after the testimony of apostolic witnesses had ceased to be obtainable. The Gospel must be dated later than the reign of Nero. The question now is, How much later? Inferences not attempted by the ancients can be drawn (1) from the historical and geographical standpoint of the writer; (2) from his eschatology; (3) from his relation, and that of his sources, to the teaching of Paul;

[1] Joseph Klausner, a Jew writing a Jewish Life of Christ in Jerusalem in Hebrew under the title *Jeshu ha-Notzir* (1922), regards this mode of writing as typically Jewish. Book IV, p. 271.

(4) from the relation of his resurrection narrative, fragmentary as it now is, to the apostolic resurrection gospel reported by Paul in I Cor. 15:1-11 as that preached not only by himself, but by all the rest of the authorized witnesses. In the present chapter we may limit ourselves to the first of these lines of evidence, which bears more directly on questions of authorship than of date.

The "graphic style" of Mark is often adduced as proof of his nearness to the events he narrates, and it is true that as compared with Matthew and Luke more attention is paid to scene-painting. The attitude of Jesus, the glance of his eye, are used to larger extent than by the later Synoptists to emphasize the teaching and bring out its real bearing (3:5, 34; 6:6; 8:12; 10:21; but *cf.* Mk. 22:61). Where the evangelist seems to have symbolism in view, or a didactic purpose, he dwells upon some of the attendant circumstances of the healings or other incidents to greater extent than his transcribers. This is particularly noticeable where he wishes to make apparent Jesus' power over the demons, and their recognition of him as the Son of God (1:21 ff., 34; 5:1-20); also when the healing tends to illustrate the slow awakening of Israel to perception of the truth, as prophesied by Isaiah (7:31-37; 8:22-26; 9:14-29; 10:46-52). Comparison particularly of the two healings of the dumb and blind with Q parallels (Mt. 9:27-34; 12:22=Lk. 11:14), with due regard to linguistic phenomena, will make it practically certain that in this instance at least the greater elaboration of Mark represents an attempt to bring out a lesson based on Is. 29:18 ff., rather than historical presentation of the event. On the other hand the comparison of the "eating-companies" (συμπόσια) seated in order in their gay-colored Eastern garments on the "green" grass to "garden-beds" (πρασιαί) is justly referred by the many commentators who call attention to it to pure delight in scene-painting. The evangelist sees the picture himself, and appreciates the pleasure his readers will take in the reproduction of it. Matthew and Luke omit the "garden-beds," just as they also disregard Mark's comparison of the shining garments of Jesus in the Transfiguration scene to the work of "fullers on earth." In comparison with Matthew and Luke Mark is "graphic." But, as Wernle justly remarks, the characteristic belongs to the period rather than to the person. With the Gospel of Mark we stand nearer the time when freedom of descriptive detail was still permissible on the part of the narrator, and was welcomed by the audience. It does not require that one should have sat among the "eating-companies" in Galilee (as admittedly Mark did not) to know how an outdoor group of Christians looks assembled for such a purpose on a

green hillside. Neither does it require that one have been a companion of Apostles to know how 'demoniacs' behave under the word of the exorciser, or how paralytics and other afflicted people receive the healing act or word of the messenger of glad tidings. If one has spent a lifetime in "doing the work of an evangelist" such scenes are not difficult to reproduce. As regards references to the look and gesture of Jesus, the omissions of Matthew and Luke are admittedly due, in most cases if not all, to their greater sense of reverence. Expressions indicative of anger or surprise ("He looked around with anger," "He was amazed at their unbelief") are no longer considered in good taste as applied to Jesus in the period of Matthew and Luke. In the time of Mark the objection was less felt.

It is true, then, that the "graphic style" of Mark has something to tell regarding the date of composition, but far less than is commonly assumed. It has little, if any, bearing on the evangelist's relation to the eye-witnesses; much more on the feeling prevalent in his period and environment determining what is appropriate in gospel-story. It belongs with the disregard evinced by Mark, as compared with Matthew and Luke, for teaching material. Mark appeals to the eye rather than the ear. He still has something of the instinct of Paul that "the gospel" is not new and better "commandments," but the story of what God wrought "through the agency of Christ."

Over against Mark's (relatively) graphic style stands a double objection to the plea of the apologist. The objection is based partly on things not told, partly on things told otherwise than we should expect on the assumption of a close relation of the author to apostolic times or witnesses.

Recent linguistic study, proving that the Gospel consists not so much of the personal pen-work of the evangelist as of translations from collected documents, makes larger allowance possible for the non-appearance of those individual and personal reminiscences which we should expect if the ascription to Mark were taken in the strictest sense. But the very use of documents to the exclusion of personal recollection is evidential. And if Mark himself had any direct and personal share in the composition, it is hard to understand why so little appears (even in editorial matter) of what must have been well known to one brought up in the house of Mary in Jerusalem (Acts 12:12). Had Mark never met Andrew, Peter's brother? Could he tell nothing whatever about James the Lord's brother, or about Mary, his mother? If he knew James and John, the sons of Zebedee, why has he nothing whatever to tell about the

former, nothing about the latter save that he incurred Jesus' rebuke for voicing the intolerance of the Twelve (9:38 f.)? Why has he nothing to tell about the pair save the sobriquet Boanerges (which he renders "Sons of Thunder," but without explaining its application), and the martyr fate which befell them according to the prediction of Jesus? Why has he nothing to tell about Peter himself of any personal character, and nothing at all about the rest of the Twelve, some of whom must have frequented his mother's house during those twelve years while it was still their headquarters?

One may reasonably supplement the statement of Acts 12:12 as to the close relations of Mark with the primitive apostolic circle by a conjecture based on Acts 13:13 and 15:37 ff. in combination with Gal. 2:11. Before the close of the First Missionary Journey Mark "withdrew" from Paul and Barnabas at Perga in Pamphylia and returned to Jerusalem. Acts does not tell us how he next comes to be at Antioch, whence he goes with Barnabas to Cyprus. But from Galatians we learn that Peter in the meantime came from Jerusalem to Antioch, so that Mark's coming is likely to have been *in company with Peter*. From this time on Mark was associated with Barnabas until he rejoined Paul at Rome (Col. 4:10).[2] We have seen how slight ground exists for supposing him to have again come into real contact with Peter. But contact with Barnabas, one of the original apostolic group (Acts 4:36), must count for something. First and last, then, the son of Mary of Jerusalem and cousin of Barnabas must have enjoyed unusual knowledge of the eye-witnesses and their story.

But the amount of evidence for personal contact with this group afforded by the Gospel before us is so small as to make it difficult, if not impossible, to take the expression "according to" in the stricter sense. Advocates of this interpretation point to the incident of the nameless young man (νεανίσκος) who fled from the scene of arrest in Gethsemane after the posse led by Judas had torn the sheet from his body (Mk. 14:51 f.). They call it poetically "the artist's signature in an obscure corner of the canvass." But a signature makes at least the suggestion of a name. No name is here suggested. It is possible to suppose a time when the reference was understood. Those to whom the names Alexander and Rufus (15:21) were familiar may have understood this reference also. But we

[2] In view of a disposition in some quarters to refer the Epistles of Imprisonment in which mention is made of Mark's coming to Asia to an (otherwise unknown) imprisonment in Ephesus mention should be made especially of II Tim., 4:9-12, according to Harrison (*Problem of Pastoral Epistles*, 1921, p. 123) part of Paul's farewell letter from Rome.

have no reason to suppose the author of the Gospel intended the anecdote to call attention to *his own* participation in these scenes. Had he so desired it was perfectly open to him to state the fact as plainly as it is asserted in Rev. 22:8, or, if he preferred, as obscurely as in Jn. 19:35. We have not even the latter. There is nothing whatever to connect the incident with the writing of the Gospel. Ancient conjecture, busy (like modern) with romantic identifications, declared the young man to have been "John." If this was in reality "John whose surname was Mark" the mode of reference would be much more in favor of the looser interpretation of the term "according to" than the stricter. The evangelist would in that case be reminding readers familiar with the name of "John" (current, it would seem, in Palestine rather than the Greek-speaking world, Acts 12:25; 13:13) of an incident attached in local tradition to it. His own personality would at the same time be suitably kept out of sight.

The evangelist's seeming remoteness from the group who must have been personally known to Mark and are actually mentioned in the Gospel, though for the most part only named, is an objection of weight. But it need not be carried to the extent of expecting familiarity with the personality of Jesus. Even if we take the Gethsemane incident as really an experience of the evangelist himself, it should not perhaps be expected that after forty years of missionary preaching in the wake of Paul the "youth" who was thus for a moment brought into real contact with the Redeemer himself would be led by it alone to depict any less superhuman figure than that actually portrayed in the Gospel. But surely it is reasonable to expect that a resident for many years of Jerusalem would be familiar with the geography of the country, and at least the political conditions of his own times. We should not expect him to commit the blunders concerning Antipas and his relations with Herodias, Salome her daughter, and John the Baptist, which characterize the story of the Baptist's Fate (6:17-29). We should not expect him to ascribe to "the Pharisees and all the Jews" the precautions against ritual defilement described in 7:3 f. We should not expect him to ascribe the plots against Jesus' life to a conspiracy of the Pharisees with "the Herodians." We should not expect him to speak of Gerasa as if it were a city on the east shore of the Sea of Galilee; nor to describe a journey from the scene of the Feeding of the Five Thousand to "Bethsaida" as going to "the other side" of the Lake (6:45); nor to speak of Bethsaida itself as a "village" (κώμη, 8:26). We scarcely know what to make of a journey "from the borders of Tyre through Sidon to the Sea of Galilee, up the

midst of the borders of Decapolis" (7:31), even if there be some prospect of understanding one "into the borders of Judaea and beyond Jordan" (10:1) on the way to Jerusalem, and a possibility that a "Dalmanutha" may sometime be discovered near Gennesaret. There may have been a "Bethany" as well as a Bethphage on the Mount of Olives (11:1),[3] and ultimately it may turn out that "the village over against you" was this Bethphage, so that "Bethany" only came in through some early correction to disturb the context and perplex the geographer. But even if all these historical and geographical puzzles were cleared up it would still be surprising that a resident of Jerusalem from boyhood to maturity should not be able to convey a clearer idea of the journeys he wished to describe, or the historical conditions of his own time.

Expectation, in all the above cases, depends upon a knowledge which is limited and subject to error. If we knew more about the geography and history of contemporary Palestine some of the above puzzles would undoubtedly cease to exist (though perhaps as many new ones would arise). Some of them, such as the situation of Gerasa, are not likely to be dissipated by any amount of increase of geographical and historical knowledge. We must reason by the knowledge which we have, making due allowance for the possibility (or even in some cases probability) of error on our own part. Judging by such knowledge as we have, there are very serious difficulties in the way of supposing the evangelist himself to have been a resident of Palestine during the years 30-42.

With all due allowance for the possible breaking forth of new light, the critic is bound to acknowledge the failure of the Gospel of Mark to meet his expectations (as reasonable as he knows how to make them) of a document of such authorship. The author emphatically does *not* seem to stand in close, warm, and intimate relations with either the individuals, the scenes, or the events of his story. To him the mother and brethren of Jesus seem to be bare names. Absolutely all that he has to tell about them is their opposition and unbelief (3:21, 31 f.; 6:4). The Apostles are scarcely more. With the exceptions already noted all are passed over in complete silence. Concerning the leaders there is more than silence. There is almost a tone of hostility. The Son of David Christology, still a living hope among the "many myriads" of believers of Jewish birth when James at the Apostolic Council makes his appeal

[3] Since the above was written Director Albright of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem has shown evidence for its identification with (Beth) Ananiah of Neh. 11:32, a ruined village one-half hour's walk from Jerusalem on the east slope of the Mount of Olives. *Annual*, Vol. IV, pp. 158-160.

to the prophecy of Amos (Acts 15:16-18), still the bond of loyalty which held together the little Christian caliphate in Jerusalem as long as there were members of the kindred of the Lord (δεσπόσυνοι) to stand at its head, is to our evangelist a Christology "according to the things of men." It rests upon a Jewish delusion inspired by Satan (8:33; 12:35-37). All the Twelve are infected with this Jewish stubbornness and callousness (6:52; 7:18; 8:17 f.). It meets with scorching rebuke from Jesus when voiced by Peter at Caesarea Philippi (8:31-33), but is not yet eradicated. Each new prediction of the cross is followed by a new demonstration on the part of the Twelve, as a group and individually, that they still cherish selfish and unworthy ambitions (10:28 ff., 35 ff.), and they show no sign of a change of mind down to their desertion of their Master, and the denial of him by Peter before the slaves and maid-servant of the high priest. If there were a single incident recorded, whether of Peter or any other of the Apostles, or a single word were said of Jesus' mother and brethren, to relieve the evangelist's portraiture of its most sinister features, or to place the characters in a more favorable light, we should receive a different impression of his attitude. But there is none. Of course the story in its earliest form, supplied with its original ending, reported at least the turning again of Peter, perhaps the stablishing of his brethren (14:27 f.). But it is the mutilated Gospel, deprived of this mitigation of its hostile attitude toward the Jerusalem group, with which we have to do. It is *this* form which actually circulated at the time when Luke and Matthew were written. It is hard to suppose that Mark, who during all the years of his youth formed one of this Jerusalem circle, knew the mother and brethren of Jesus who formed its nucleus and James its venerated head, and who went in and out among the Apostles, its official representatives, could have depicted them in colors so unrelieved. Even if we acquit the original evangelist of responsibility for the removal of the story how Jesus appeared to "Peter and" the eleven in Galilee, restoring right relations between himself and them, his general attitude toward the mother and brethren of Jesus is nothing less than hostile. Even toward the Apostles, particularly Peter, James, and John, he displays an attitude hard to impute to Peter's spiritual "son."

The historical geography of Palestine must decide as to the evangelist's acquaintance with scenes which must have been familiar to one whose youth was spent as a resident of that tiny district, easily covered from end to end in a few days' journey on foot. Our knowledge is limited. But it suffices to enable us to say of the writer of Jn. 4:3 ff., 5:1 ff., 10:22 f. that he had probably made at least

the journey from Jerusalem through Samaria to Galilee. One can hardly say as much for the whole Gospel of Mark. If the compiler had ever visited the country with which his sources deal he gives no indication of it. On the contrary he is clearly wrong in some of his geographical suppositions, and appears to be at fault as respects a number of data both historical and geographical such as we have enumerated. For him Palestinian Christians are "they that are in Judaea" (13:14).

During the twelve years in Jerusalem from the crucifixion to the exodus of the Twelve the historical John Mark must have heard again and again the story of the crucifixion from those who had personally witnessed the tragedy. He must have constantly visited the scene, and found vivid interest in making every detail of the story of cross and resurrection live again. Surely for such a witness the story given in Mk. 15:22-41 is inexplicably meagre. Such details as are given, including the rending of the temple veil, are not free from the atmosphere of legend, or owe their narration to the apologetic interest of Scripture fulfilment. There is little echo, or none, of that anguish of despair which must have filled the hearts of those from whom Mark heard the story. Religious edification is the motive in view. Personal feeling has almost disappeared.

On the other hand there are scenes which could not well have other ultimate origin than the personal narration of Peter. Such are the opening story of the Call of the Four Fishermen (1:16-20) and the Beginning of Miracles in Capernaum (1:21-39). Such also is the scene of Gethsemane and Peter's Denial (14:32-50, 66-72). Those who gave this work the title "Reminiscences of Peter" were well advised. Only it must not be supposed that it contained nothing else, or that it reproduced even these in the precise form given them by the Apostle. For side by side with narratives of this realistic type stand others, sometimes such as use the same incident, whose character is anything but historically realistic. Peter's Confession at Caesarea Philippi surely goes back to the testimony of eye- and ear-witnesses for its essential data. But the Revelation of Peter which follows and interprets this scene, the interjected story of the Transfiguration (9:2-10), is a bit of Jewish-christian midrash of which the motive and significance must be sought in Paul's defence of the ministry of the New Covenant in II Cor. 3:1-6:10.

For such a combination of history and legend, realistic story and religious elaboration, there can be but one explanation. It is that afforded by documentary analysis. We are compelled to admit the justice of the primitive claim to Peter's testimony in this compilation. But we are equally compelled, by the very same evidence, to

deny that this covers the whole. We have neither wish nor ground for rejecting the ancient witness for the authority of Mark as guaranteeing the general authenticity of this Gospel. But the phenomena we have just reviewed compel us to take the expression "according to" (κατά) in the looser sense. This Gospel represents the story of Peter, not as recorded, but *as it used to be preached*, by Mark.

The linguistic proof that the Gospel consists of documentary sources, not of oral testimony set down by a single hand, comes as a relief to those who are reluctant to discredit the ancient tradition of Markan origin. Such a work of translation and compilation of written sources gives larger room for explanation of the apparent remoteness of the compiler from the eye-witnesses. To hold Mark personally responsible for everything consigned to these pages is to place a strain upon the Elder's testimony that he "wrote carefully (ἀκριβῶς) all that he remembered" which the internal evidence will scarcely justify. To hold that the collection, translation, and editing of these Petrine reminiscences of the sayings and doings of the Lord, was done "carefully," in loyal effort to omit nothing that Mark would have included, and to set down nothing falsely, is no more than just to the indications of the work itself. In this sense we may well retain the ancient title "According to Mark."

CHAPTER XXIII

INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF DATE

The Eschatological Discourse of Mk. 13 has been declared to furnish the "one decisive mark of time in the Gospel itself." We have examined this agglutination and found that it does indeed have reference, as critics have generally maintained, to the catastrophe of the Jewish War, ending with the overthrow of Jerusalem. For the compiler the "great tribulation" of 66-70 is, as Wellhausen puts it, "a past event" (*bereits vergangen*). His interest is concentrated on certain dangers to the Church arising from the afterthroes of the rebellion.

The Eschatological Discourse combines Q material with a Little Apocalypse based on Daniel. The Little Apocalypse was not an utterance of Jesus in the flesh, but substantially the same utterance through some unknown Christian prophet of the great crisis of 40 A.D. which underlies the Thessalonian Epistles, and is cited by Paul as "a word of the Lord." In the Thessalonian Epistles this apocalypse has already been adapted to the changed conditions of the year 50; for it substitutes a personal "Man of Sin" for the impersonal Abomination (*shiqqutz*) of Daniel. In Mark it retains this Pauline feature, but shows traces of new and further adaptation. The evangelist now seeks adjustment to conditions as they were after the year 70 by a change affecting the locality. Mk. 13:14 substitutes the indefinite "where he ought not" for "the temple of God" as the scene of the Satanic manifestation. Thus the Pauline apocalypse, the Book of Daniel on which it had been founded when uttered as "a word of the Lord," and certain logia from the Second Source are the three elements which have been combined in Mark's discourse. These component factors, taken together with the editorial adaptation of the whole to the situation as it was after 70 A.D. do indeed furnish a decisive mark of time. They compel us to date the Gospel after the "great tribulation on those that are in Judea," thus removing entirely that lower limit of date which modern critics had fondly imagined themselves able to set over against the higher limit established by the testimony of antiquity: "after the death of Peter and Paul." The date is certainly later than 70 A.D.

Comparison of the Matthean form of the Eschatological Dis-

course furnishes no escape from the conclusions drawn. Mark is less definite, minute, and specific than Matthew in his expectation of the fulfilment of the prophecy of Daniel. In fact he does not mention Daniel the prophet by name at all. His whole object in constructing the discourse is different. Matthew wishes to encourage a fading hope of the Parousia by a new interpretation of Daniel the prophet which will show that the profanation to be expected before the "full end" (Dan. 9:27) is neither a manifestation of Beliar (as Mark understands), nor a desecration of the temple like that of Antiochus, but simply that desecration *of a synagogue in Caesarea* which started the great tribulation on those in Judea. Consequently the full end, not to be expected till after the destruction of the city and the sanctuary (Dan. 9:26), cannot be far off. Seventy weeks from Daniel's time had been decreed upon the people of God and the holy city

> to finish transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy (Dan. 9:24).

What Christian of Matthew's time could hold that this prediction was not still a matter of future fulfilment? The seventy weeks were an enigma calling continually for new solutions. But Christian apocalypse, from Revelation down, is full of attempts to solve it. Matthew either had his own solution, or expected one would be found. He desires to hearten the discouragement of the long years of waiting by new assurances like those of his contemporary at Ephesus that the time of the Coming is at hand. Jesus will come quickly. The years of the great tribulation "among the Gentiles" have been long, but will soon be at an end. This is such doctrine as one might expect from Christians in Palestine (Galilee?) in the end of the reign of Domitian.

Mark has quite a different tone and aim. The burden of his message is a warning like that of Paul to the troubled brotherhood at Thessalonica. Mark is not less definite than Matthew in his references to "the great tribulation on those that were in Judea." But the lesson that he draws is not encouragement to hope that the full end predicted by Daniel is near. It is rather warning not to be carried away by the fanaticism of false prophets and false Christs.

This, too, as we have pointed out, is an indication of date. Mark certainly does look back on the destruction of Jerusalem as already an event of the past. But there are events of the present which he regards as of still greater concern. Chief among these, at least for "those that are in Judea," is the appearance of the "false prophets

and false Christs'' as part of the aftermath of the great war. Unfortunately we have no definite and specific information to tell us precisely what phenomenon is meant. The political agitations in Egypt and Cyrene which Josephus describes (*War,* VII, xi.) will have had their religious counterpart among Jewish-christian communities embued with the apocalyptic hopes so well known to us in the literature of this type. It may well have extended more widely still. In the *Commentary* the year 75 has been set as a not improbable date for the composition of the Gospel of Mark. From the special interest of the Eschatological Discourse this would be an appropriate time. Five years is a short period to allow for the development of the post-war phenomena and the reaction evoked from Christians in the West.

The testimony of antiquity as to the post-apostolic origin of Mark is thus positively confirmed. The internal evidence compels us to date it at a time when the testimony of the eye-witnesses was no longer available, the age of the Apostles' teaching not having extended beyond ''the reign of Nero.'' But almost a score of years after the overthrow of Jerusalem now lies open to choice. The admitted dependence of Luke and Matthew furnishes the only secure lower limit, so that this might be placed almost anywhere in the last quarter of the first century.

The post-apostolic date thus witnessed by antiquity for the Gospel of Mark and confirmed by its adaptations of the Little Apocalypse is corroborated by other phenomena of the internal evidence. Without conclusive proof of literary borrowing we have found enough to show that the evangelist himself had been affected by the teaching of Paul. Even were one unconvinced of this, some of the material employed has even stronger Pauline coloration than the Gospel itself. Both as regards selection of material, sources, and composition, and development of doctrine, the period after Paul was found far more probable than one contemporary with his activity, the earlier time being excluded altogether. The evangelist incorporates as his chief dependence material which should be called deutero-Petrine rather than Petrine. The work is an elaborate compilation from written sources originally Aramaic, by a compiler somewhat remote from the scenes, events, and persons described. This prevailing character of the work should count for more than specific instances subject to dispute such as the reference to the martyrdom of James and John (the latter probably contemporary with that of James the Lord's brother in 62 A.D.), which Wellhausen considered to stand next in importance to the Eschatological Discourse as a mark of time. Other slighter indications which need

not be here enumerated go to support the conclusion based (it would seem) by antiquity on the general character and structure of the work.

On the other hand individual traits in the composition are undoubtedly early. Some scenes bear the impress of first-hand report, in all probability that of Peter. But the Gospel consists of a compilation of earlier documents. Such is the most convincing result of the recent studies of its "translation Greek," to say nothing of previous source analysis. That some elements from oral or written tradition should retain an archaic character, however late the compilation as a whole, would be only what we should expect. It is the latest elements which determine the date.

Among these determinative later elements of the Gospel of Mark is one which in our judgment deserves far more serious consideration than it has yet received. The climax toward which the whole story moves is that mutilated closing section which may be designated the Resurrection gospel, and begins with the story of the women who witness the entombment from afar off (15:40 ff.), returning after the Sabbath was past to find the stone rolled away, and to receive a message from a "young man" sitting within "on the right hand," to tell his disciples and Peter that the risen Christ will meet them in Galilee.

If we encroach upon the history of textual transmission this cannot indeed be said to belong to the very latest elements of the Gospel. For at some period after it left the author's hands, but so early as to have left no trace of his own words of conclusion, this resurrection story was broken off. Our oldest witnesses for the text agree with the inferences a just criticism must make from Luke and Matthew, that the Gospel circulated for a period entirely without a proper ending. The Vaticanus, the Sinaitic Codex, the Sinaitic Syriac, concur with the later Synoptics to show that from the time when it was used by Luke and Matthew the Gospel of Mark ended with the words "for they were afraid" (ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ), giving no account of the fulfilment of the promise of Jesus (14:27 f.), leaving the reader uninformed even of what happened after the corroboratory assurance of the angel. Later transcribers supply the obvious defect in different ways, one group of manuscripts attaching what is called the Longer ending, a summary of the appearances related in Jn. 20:11 ff. and Lk. 24:13-53, another adding as an alternative a Shorter Ending based on Mt. 28:16-20. The chief value of these for our present purposes is their demonstration that the ancients felt as keenly as ourselves the necessity of filling an obvious lacuna.

But our enquiry concerns the period antecedent to these vicissitudes of the transmission of the text. We may properly raise the question why the original author's ending has not survived, since even accident (the resort of those who abandon the attempt at explanation) cannot account for the disappearance of the tradition from which the author drew. And we must still continue to reckon the Resurrection narrative of Mk. 15:40-16:8 among the later, if not the very latest, elements of the original text. The closing words, explaining why the women failed to deliver the message confided to them, either to the disciples or anyone else, convey a decided hint that the story had not been in circulation from the beginning, but is now given currency on the basis of some authority not specified. The reader is left to conjecture that subsequently, after the fact of the resurrection had become known, the women came forward to corroborate the witness of others by relating their experience, but the time of their thus breaking silence is not indicated.

The *Ev. Petri* still preserves this complete independence of the story of the women from the appearance to the Eleven. The disciples are hiding in Jerusalem. Here also this seems to be implied, for the angel's message directs them to Galilee. The women are not sent to Galilee, but to the refuge of the Eleven in Jerusalem to bid them go to Galilee. But in *Ev. Petri,* as in Mark, the message remains undelivered. The appearance in Galilee takes by complete surprise the group who experience it (the fragment breaks off after enumerating "Andrew" and "Levi son of Alpheus" as Peter's companions at the Sea of Galilee). Attempts of later apologists to arrange some sort of harmony between these two unrelated traditions, that of the women in Jerusalem and the disciples in Galilee, are well illustrated in Mt. 28:8 ("ran to bring his disciples word"), 9 f. (second message through the women), Lk. 24:10 f. (the message delivered but disbelieved), Jn. 20:1-10 (believed only by "the disciple whom Jesus loved"). We have conflict between traditions, geographically as between Galilee (Matthean and Markan) and Jerusalem (Luke and Jn. 1-20), chronologically as between the manifestation to the women "on the third day" and the manifestation to Peter (in Galilee), which could only presuppose resurrection "on the third day" as something required by "Scripture" (I Cor. 15:3), the manifestation itself being necessarily later.[1] These may well account for the mutilation of Mark, or at least for the hesita-

[1] According to *Ev. Petri,* XIV, 58, at the end of the days of unleavened bread, hence some days after the crucifixion; *cf.* Acts 1:3 ("forty days") and 2:1 (Pentecost).

tion in supplying the defect. But our present enquiry is directed to something else.

The critic may find it necessary to presuppose an earlier form of the Petrine resurrection gospel *represented* in Mark which paid no attention to the story of the Women at the Sepulchre. As already noted the two narratives, representing Galilee and Jerusalem respectively, are certainly quite independent in origin, and were found far from easy to adjust by primitive apologists forced to meet the counter-arguments of the Synagogue. It is scarcely natural that the witness of an angel from heaven should be invoked to bring about the situation presupposed as a result of the smiting of the Shepherd in 14:27 f., and still less natural that this intervention from heaven should prove after all fruitless. In the *Commentary,* accordingly, it is inferred that the Roman tradition in its earliest form followed accounts of the Galilean type. The first manifestation occurs in Galilee, far from the scene of the tragedy, far from the tomb, far from the place where the new movement of evangelization was to begin, for the simple reason that Peter and the rest of the Eleven had fled thither, and could not be reached otherwise.

Resurrection narratives of the Galilean type require very little adjustment to Paul's list of the proofs in I Cor. 15:1-11, for Paul gives no geographical data. Accounts which follow the Jerusalem tradition, eliminating altogether the inconvenient scattering of the disciples and flight to Galilee, or prefixing a manifestation to other witnesses, are certainly secondary developments.

Of this later date for the form of the tradition represented in Mark we have two decisive proofs: (1) The *a priori* unlikelihood of a journey from Jerusalem to Galilee, followed by almost immediate return, without other explicable motive than to receive a manifestation of the risen Savior. The most natural scene for the manifestations would be near the tomb. It is incredible that a journey to Galilee should be an invention of the tradition. Its origin is the real fact of the flight, as already explained. Its removal (as in Luke), or displacement to a secondary position (as in Mark), is a natural result of simplification combined with the desire to obliterate the memory of events discreditable to the Twelve. (2) We have also the plain statement of Paul, enumerating the successive steps of demonstration by which the witnesses were brought to their conviction of Jesus' triumph over death. It is expressly stated to be the common resurrection gospel, not peculiar to Paul ("whether it were I or they, so we preached, and so ye believed"), but a tradition common to all from the beginning. This common apostolic

resurrection gospel begins with the manifestation to Peter (in Galilee), and makes no allusion of any sort to the women or the empty tomb. As Paul's argument is chiefly concerned with the resurrection body ("with what body do they come?"), this Apostle naturally refers to the burial of Jesus' body (15:4). But so far from referring to its disappearance from the tomb on the third day, which would have been a shattering argument against his opponents, Paul merely adduces the parallel of the decay of the seed-corn in the earth, to be followed at "First-fruits" by a new body. The new is like the old, but related to it only by some divine alchemy beyond man's power to comprehend (Phil. 3:21; Rom. 8:11; II Cor. 3:18). The inherently secondary nature of the Jerusalem tradition of the women at the empty tomb, combined with its complete exclusion from the apostolic resurrection gospel as reported by Paul, make it certain that the narrative of Mk. 15:40-16:8 is relatively late.

Criticism now points to Mk. 14:27 f. as not in harmony with 16:7, where the Twelve are not "scattered abroad," and demands that we recognize a trace here of the older account. Other ancient forms of the tradition such as Jn. 21:2 and *Ev. Petri* XIV, 59 f.[2] support this "scattering," to the extent of making the group associated with Peter at the first manifestation a different one from the Eleven. There seems, therefore, to be no escape from recognizing the difference, and we must also admit the priority of the form which includes a "scattering" of the Twelve, though one need not necessarily admit that the promise inserted in Mk. 14:28 and referred to by the angel in 16:7 is original in the context. All that here concerns us is the recognition that in the Gospel of Mark as it stands these two forms of the tradition, an earlier and a later, are set side by side unreconciled, and that the tradition which now occupies the dominant place in the Gospel is one of which the ancient resurrection gospel reported in I Cor. 15:1-11 has no knowledge at all.

In attempting to date the Gospel of Mark as it stands, disregarding the various Endings attached since the time of origin of Luke and Matthew, we must therefore take account of the gradual displacement of the apostolic resurrection gospel, which began with the manifestation "to Peter," by the secondary form, which gave first place to the story of the Women at the Sepulchre. One can

[2] "We the twelve disciples of the Lord . . . separated every man to his own house (*cf.* Jn. 16:32). But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew, my brother, taking our nets went away to the sea, and there was with us Levi the son of Alphaeus, whom the Lord . . ."

imagine that a resurrection gospel which had the combined authority of Paul and all the other eye-witnesses, and which began with the appearance "to Peter," was not easily displaced. Certainly such a displacement could not be imagined to occur during the lifetime of Peter and Paul, nor could it easily take place while the church in Jerusalem could still furnish hundreds of eye-witnesses (I Cor. 15:6). The scattering of this primitive body of witnesses and the death of those who could readily have supplied the kind of narrative Paul gives, would seem to be a *conditio sine qua non* of the account actually set forth in Mk. 15:40-16:8.

The critic may conjecture such an origin as he pleases for the story of the Empty Tomb. It is unquestionably derived from Jerusalem. The description of the tomb and the local (not to say hagiographic) interest in the spot pointed out by the angel ("behold the place where they laid him") are sufficient to indicate its provenance. The names of the women witnesses and of Joseph of Arimathea, strange otherwise to Mark, corroborate this Jerusalem provenance, and in addition suggest a connection with the Special Source of Luke. An interest (not shared by Mark) in fulfilment of the Isaian predictions of the fate of the Servant seems to attend the description of the burial in the tomb of a rich man (*cf.* Is 53:9). In addition the description of the angel ("young man"—νεανισκός—Mk. 16:5) "sitting on the right side" (*cf.* Lk. 1:11) of the tomb, sent to deliver a message from heaven as in Lk. 1:11 ff., 26 ff. suggests a similar derivation for this material; for angels play no part elsewhere in the story of Mark, and represent an alien element in the Temptation story.

All these details suggest an origin for the story of the Women at the Sepulchre in that Special Source of Luke which we have found reason in many passages to regard as utilized by Mark, a source in which to an extraordinary extent women are given the place of honor. In any event the story represents a relatively late and legendary development, as compared with the apostolic resurrection gospel. It certainly grew up at Jerusalem, where the shrine of the sepulchre was cherished and pointed out as "the place where the Lord lay." How far back in local tradition the story of the women finding it empty on the third day could be traced it would be hopeless and fruitless to conjecture. Possibly the story began to be told to visiting pilgrims from Rome and elsewhere even before Paul's last visit to Jerusalem. All we can be sure of is that it had no standing as compared with the report of the eye-witnesses so long as the proofs adduced by Paul in I Cor. 15:1-11 continued to be the common apostolic resurrection gospel.

The date we must assign to Mark is the date when the story told by Peter and Paul was already receding into oblivion, displaced by a shrine-story from Jerusalem which seemed to give more tangible proof of the bodily nature of the resurrection. It would be easier to conceive of this after the beginning of the reign of Domitian. It is incredible that it should have occurred in less than ten years after the expiration of "the age of the teaching of the Apostles."

CHAPTER XXIV

SUMMARY AND APPLICATIONS

We have reached the conclusion of our task. Detailed enquiry into the origin and value of the ancient tradition has shown it to be in real harmony with the internal evidence of the writing, when both are taken in their true sense. The testimony of the Elder, representing the judgment of Jerusalem authorities shortly after 110 A.D., appears to be based on the title and general nature of the Gospel rather than personal knowledge of the circumstances of its composition. Nevertheless the testimony is far from valueless. The Elder takes no interest in such questions as the modern critic would wish to put, and probably has no knowledge on these subjects to convey. He knows who Peter was and who Mark was, and he also knows the authentic and apostolic type of teaching known as "sayings and doings of the Lord." His questioner desires to know whether the Gospel submitted (our own canonical Mark) truly represents this, or is to be rejected with the "alien commandments" and the "vain talk of those who have so very much to say." The reply is favorable. The sayings and doings here given may be accepted as truly representing Peter according to the teaching of Mark, the follower of Paul, once a companion of Peter. It is not a complete account of Peter's teaching, for Mark had not heard all. Moreover it has the character of a posthumous collection of "memorabilia" (ἀπομνημονεύματα) in that its order is not that of a true biography (βίος). When it was drawn up the means of attaining such an order were no longer available. But for the purpose in view (religious instruction) it is a work to be commended. Such is the verdict of "the Elder."

An impartial, thoroughly informed judgment of the internal evidence cannot but concur with the verdict of "the Elder." The Gospel has so thoroughly embodied "Petrine" tradition as known in its own period as to have completely monopolized the field except in one direction. It is far more complete in the direction of the "doings" than of the "sayings." So manifestly is this the case that two independent attempts were made to supply the deficiency, both utilizing an otherwise unknown compilation only slightly drawn upon by Mark. In this Second Source (really older than Mark and in several respects better informed) the main interest had been the

"sayings" rather than the "doings." Perhaps because of its arrangement of the material in the form of brief anecdotes introducing discourses in which the "sayings" had been already extended into the form of didactic discourses, perhaps because it lacked the prestige attaching to Mark as directly representing Peter, the original order of Q has not survived. Both later Synoptists use the order of Mark in preference to that of the Second Source, if indeed the original order and literary structure of the Second Source had not by their time already been largely modified by revision and accretion. Our study confirms the generally accepted verdict of criticism that the Gospel of Mark is based on written sources, among which must be included some form of the Second Source, though for reasons of his own Mark has used Q in only a sparing way, and with the primary object of obtaining from it data bearing on his own account of the career and person of Jesus. Certainly when employed in common by Matthew and Luke, and probably when employed by Mark the Second Source had already been translated into Greek from its original Aramaic.

For the question of date none of the sources of Mark can compare in importance with the sources he employs in his great discourse of Jesus on the Doom of Jerusalem (Mk. 13:1-37). The chapter is certainly composite, and includes elements derived from the Second Source in combination with others which place in the mouth of Jesus definite predictions concerning the overthrow of the temple and accompanying woes on "those in Judea." For half a century it has been common among gospel critics to regard this latter element, known as the Synoptic "Little Apocalypse," as derived from a particular writing, and even to connect this 'leaflet' with a statement of Eusebius that the Christians in Jerusalem retired from the city before the siege in obedience to a "revelation" granted to some of their number "before the outbreak of the war." Our present enquiry leads to the conclusion that such a "revelation from the Lord" had indeed been current, and for almost thirty years before the outbreak of the great rebellion. The distinctive character of this primitive apocalypse was its application to current events of the prophecies of Daniel concerning the profanation of the temple and the succeeding cataclysm. But we can also trace in the Epistles to the Thessalonians an eschatology of similar type, and this is expressly ascribed to "a word of the Lord," that is, an apocalypse or revelation, through one of the "prophets" of the Church. Two features are distinctive of the Thessalonian eschatology, and assure its agreement if not identity with the Synoptic Little Apocalypse: (a) It has the same Danielic basis and outline; (b) it introduces

the hitherto unknown figure of the Antichrist as profaner of the temple. The unmistakable presence of this apocalyptic element, alien to the authentic teaching of Jesus in the flesh, though endorsed by Paul as a true (apocalyptic) "word of the Lord," as the central feature of Mark's chapter on the Doom of Jerusalem, is the most significant element in the Gospel of Mark for the determination of its date, and leads to certain positive results, whether the apocalyptic material circulated in written or only oral form.

1. The nucleus of the apocalypse is an expectation which can be dated at no other time than 40 A.D. that the temple would be profaned in a manner corresponding to Dan. 9:27; 11:31; 12:11 as a prelude to deliverance by the return of Christ.

2. In the form represented in the Thessalonian Epistles this "word of the Lord" has undergone a modification adapting it to the sudden change of the situation brought about by the assassination of Caius January 24, 41. Paul, writing in 50, still expects the profanation of the temple, but by appearance there of the Antichrist *in person,* the present delay being due to a "Restrainer" (Claudius?). Antichrist now replaces the material object (statue of Caius) which had been expected as a literal fulfilment of Daniel. This change is reproduced in Mk. 13:14.

3. In the form represented in the Markan Doom-chapter the revelation has undergone a second modification, slight in degree but highly significant in character. The profanation no longer is expected "in the temple of God." The Antichrist only stands "where he ought not." The calamities on disobedient Israel follow, but the evangelist's warning to his readers is *not* to expect an immediate return of Christ, and not to be misled by false hopes of the type deprecated by Paul in Thessalonica. The End will *not* come till the superterrestrial powers of evil have been overthrown.

Our conclusion from the eschatology of Mark, after comparison with the Pauline on the one side, with Matthew and Luke on the other, was that Mark "looks back" (to use the expression of Wellhausen) on the events of 66-70 as "already past." Matthew recompares Daniel and finds a fulfilment in the event to which Josephus ascribes the outbreak of the war, the profanation of *a synagogue in Caesarea.* Matthew encourages hope for the Coming immediately after the present "tribulation." Luke applies the prophecy to Jerusalem, but with complete recasting of its form so as to make the "desolation" that due to the compassing "armies." The End will be as in Mark. The original form of the primitive "revelation" can therefore be dated with very great probability in 40 A.D. The Pauline modification is independently fixed at 50 A.D.

The further Markan modification is certainly later than 70 A.D., but earlier than either Matthew or Luke.

With this preliminary result our attention was next directed to the material employed by the evangelist, his mode of arrangement as regards both "sayings" (to a limited extent already aggregated in Discourses) and "doings," the latter connected by an extremely meagre thread of narrative, barely allowing us to locate a few of the most salient points of the Ministry. More striking confirmation of the primitive characterization of this Gospel as *collectanea* rather than a systematic presentation either of sayings or doings could hardly be imagined. We must suppose that the evangelist did really attempt to give an account of the ministry. If this seems open to doubt in view of the extreme paucity of data adapted to such a purpose it would still be borne out by the monopoly enjoyed by Mark's Gospel as the supreme authority in this field. An inference to be drawn with great positiveness from this utilization of material, an inference which seems in some sense to have been already drawn in antiquity, is that the available material was ill adapted to the purpose in view. So far as the evangelist's intention can be traced he seems to have in view something like the Aristotelian conception of tragedy. By means of the Prologue the reader is made acquainted with the true nature of Jesus as "the Son of God." The divine hero moves toward the preordained catastrophe through a series of conflicts in which his true character is apparent to the reader, but those among whom he moves are blind to it. Even the little company of his disciples remain obtuse. They are tainted with the same πωρώσις which affects their fellow-countrymen, so that even the terrified shrieks of the exorcised demons awaken in them no adequate sense of the Master's true nature. Only at the cross does the Roman centurion, affected by we know not what phenomenon, exclaim in terms of heathen appreciation, Truly this man was "a" son of God. The real *dénouement* is reserved for a "manifestation" to Peter and those with him which has disappeared from the original writing.

But it is not to the literary world that we must look for examples even of the form and outline of Mark, much less for its material. Its compiler lived in a world familiar with the classic conception of tragedy, but he writes colloquial Greek in an uncultured style, for purposes primarily religious. His material consists of "sayings and doings of the Lord" that were already tending to gravitate toward an orbit focussing on two nuclei, baptism and the supper. There are even indications of the use of some form of Petrine narrative (διήγησις) of (north-?) Syrian origin also employed by

Luke. But such earlier compilations of narrative type as may have existed were soon superseded by Mark itself. The important point for us to observe is that the field into which we are carried back by the attempt to extricate the written sources of Mark and Luke is not that of Petrine teaching as known to Paul, but that which we have designated deutero-Petrine. These sources were in Aramaic or in 'translation'-Greek. This implies for the sources a Syrian, perhaps a Palestinian origin. But they too were 'post-apostolic' if with the ancients we limit the "teaching of the Apostles," to the reign of Nero. The narrative source which we can most clearly trace almost certainly looked back with a sympathy and regret quite lacking to Mark on the destruction of the city of David. Jerusalem had perished according to this source because it knew not the time of its visitation, and had rejected the things which belonged to its peace. Equally cogent, though less definite as a mark of date is the "Paulinization" of this deutero-Petrine literature. The claims made in behalf of Peter as supreme authority, even in regions most distinctly of Pauline foundation, are such as could not have been advanced during Paul's lifetime. Hand in hand with these excessive imputations of authority to Peter go sweeping concessions in the line of universalism.

In this post-apostolic period movements of unification are taking place which have left as their monuments the so-called 'Catholic' Epistles. Both 'Peter' and 'James' endeavor to take the leadership over the Christian Diaspora as a new "Israel of God." 'Peter' looks to the Supper and the doctrine of the Servant as a uniting factor in the fiery trial of Roman persecution which besets all alike. 'James' uses the doctrine of the 'Spirit,' the gift of the Father of lights in baptism, interpreting it as a new Torah, contending not so much against Paul as against the abuses of Paulinism. 'James' seeks unity in a Church threatened from within by lax morality and "vain talk." He urges return to the teaching of Jesus and the Wisdom that comes from above. His encyclical breathes the very atmosphere of Q. 'Jude' his "brother" seconds his appeal, making still more specific application of the moral. But the Catholic Epistles are post-apostolic. If First Peter is late, these books are later still. The Epistle comes from a deutero-James of perhaps 85-90 A.D. Nevertheless it throws a welcome light upon its own epoch. The church from which it emanates is unquestionably Palestinian, and is honestly and earnestly seeking a *rapprochement* with the Pauline churches, to which the Epistle is addressed in nearly faultless Greek. If First Peter stretches out a right hand of fellowship from Rome, James speaks for Jerusalem. At least a part of the Pales-

tinian church must, then, have laid to heart the lesson of the disasters of the great war. These circles in Rome and Jerusalem supply to Mark his 'Petrine' materials. Toward those elements which are mainly concerned with the teaching Mark is decidedly cold. Against the Son of David Christology and the claims of the Desposyni he is frankly hostile. But he resorts to both types of the tradition. He includes "sayings" as well as "doings." Indeed he had no other recourse. He is as western and as Pauline as he could afford to be, but how could one fulfil his task without embodying both elements of Petrine tradition?

The language of the materials is strongly tinctured from its Aramaic sources. But the same may be said of the *Evang. Petri,* a product of the second century. Mark himself uses the Greek Old Testament and writes for a church similarly schooled. His Greek is uncultured. The Greek of Hermas is not dissimilar. There are occasional traces of Pauline phraseology such as φρόνειν τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ in Mk. 8:35 with which Wendling (*Entstehung des Markusevangeliums,* p. 114) bids us compare Rom. 8:5; Phil. 3:19; Col. 3:1, declaring it "thoroughly Pauline." We have referred before to εἰρηνεύετε in 9:50 and the possibility of direct dependence on Col. 2:22 in Mk. 7:7. But too much is made of the attempt to find a *literary* relationship with Paul. The relation is indirect, as when Jesus is said to preach τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (Luke usually prefers to use the verb), but his hearers are exhorted to believe "in" it (πιστεύειν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ), an expression almost certainly derived from the Aramaic. Even in the language of the Supper narrative the medium of transfer is oral. The influence of Paul concerns substance rather than language, and has affected the sources before it affected the evangelist.

Philologians are still at work upon the linguistic phenomena of Mark. One who can speak with authority[1] sums up thus a characteristic article: "Synoptic study has been excavating the upper strata; we need now to dig down into the older archaeological layers underneath." A very recent writer recalls the utterance of Weizsäcker forty years ago concerning these same Synoptic sources: "The memorial which the primitive Church thus left of itself may be still employed to furnish an insight into its own life."[2] So far as one not an expert in the interrelations of Hellenistic Greek and the various Semitic dialects can venture an opinion, the language of

[1] Cadbury in *Harvard Theological Review* for Jan., 1923.

[2] Professor H. T. Fowler in *Journal of Biblical Literature,* XLIII (1924), p. 9.

Mark would seem to lead back into this deutero-Petrine field. It will amply repay our effort.

If, then, we seek to determine constructively the environment to which these Beginnings of Gospel Story belong it is clearly that of the post-Pauline Church. Paul conspicuously lacks the means of appeal to written records. Says Professor Fowler in the article just quoted,

> Every time I go through the life and letters of Paul, I regret once and again that the Apostle had no book of the life or teachings of Jesus to leave with his newly founded churches. . . . I always remind my undergraduate students that Paul had no copy of the Gospel to leave with the Thessalonians, lest with the uncompromising judgments of youth they form an unfair and unfavorable impression of the Apostle's personality.

The allusion is to Paul's appeal to his own example when a written gospel would have made it more natural to cite the example of Jesus.

Miracle and legend in the story of Mark have overgrown the figure of the historic Jesus, though estimates of early and late in this field are precarious. We should judge more safely by the absence of the historical than by the presence of the unhistorical. From this point of view we cannot but conclude that in spite of a graphic style and an interest in externals much more apparent than in Matthew and Luke our evangelist is conspicuously lacking in a really historical conception of Jesus' career. He writes from a period when the outlook of the Church is universalistic beyond dispute. Gentile missions are scarcely argued. They are rather presupposed. The gospel must first be preached to all the nations before one may expect the End (13:10). A section is indeed introduced with special reference to nationalistic and ceremonial limitations (7:1-8:26), but Mark does not claim that Jesus "preached the gospel" to Gentiles. He merely makes the most of a sojourn of Jesus in Gentile territory (alleged on slender grounds) to show how he overrode these limitations and *predicted* a time when the Gentiles also should share in the blessings now given only to "the children."

If the growth of miracle and legend, and the inaccuracies of Mark in matters of geography and history afford too precarious a means of judgment for more than corroboration of independent results such is also the case with the development of doctrine here encountered. The evangelist combats a Son of David Christology of the Jewish-christian type and by opposing presupposes it. He stands on a level in this respect with the author of Hebrews. He also presupposes a Son of Man Christology without opposing it.

In this respect the evangelist stands on the level of Paul. The same applies to the Servant Christology. It lies in the background of thought for both. But does Mark's Christology show the influence of Paul? There is no trace of the Wisdom doctrine of Paul involving preëxistence and incarnation. What we have in the prologue of Mark is a doctrine of divine foreordination, as in I Pt. 1:20. If we are reminded of Col. 1:13, 19 in Mk. 1:10 f., we miss the Wisdom doctrine of verses 15-17. But the mere absence of this metaphysical element does not imply a pre-Pauline date, for the same thing is true of First Peter, which undeniably rests on Paul. We are merely carried back to a type of Christology which belongs to the Greek-speaking Church of the period after Paul. This is 'catholic' doctrine of the age represented by Hebrews and the Catholic Epistles.

In the treatise entitled *Is Mark a Roman Gospel?* indications of the Roman origin of this Gospel have been adduced confirming the ancient tradition of the Church regarding its provenance. All this may be accepted without closing our eyes to certain larger phenomena made more apparent by our present study. Like all the Gospels that of Mark, their prototype, rested primarily on the accumulated teaching material of some local community. It circulated at first only in the region of its birth. Probably it passed through several phases of enlargement before it found wider acceptance. But Mark as known to us draws upon too far-reaching sources, Aramaic even more than Greek, and secures too complete a monopoly of the field in East as well as West, to have come from any provincial community. If (as seems most probable) it was linked with First Peter in the Muratorian Canon, this Roman list of *ca.* 180 A.D. citing it in the missing portion as it cites First John in connection with the Fourth Gospel, this connection was well founded. The outlook of Mark is as wide as that of First Peter, or wider. The situation which would best account for its militant tone is one which calls for the same heroic stand on the part of the world-wide brotherhood in imitation of the martyr death of the Servant as that to which the writers of Hebrews and First Peter summon their readers. The social character of Mark is that of a community product. But its community is no narrow one. The believer who in imitation of the Lord forsakes all, incurring the enmity of those of his own household, being delivered up to death by parents, children, brothers, hated of all men for Christ's sake, will find his reward not only in the eternal life of heavenly glory, but also in the present age. The love is as widespread as the hatred. Many of those to whom this Gospel was first given had already suf-

fered the spoiling of their goods. They could find comfort in Jesus' answer to Peter and the Twelve when these began to say, "Lo, we have left all and followed thee." Jesus had promised that such sufferers should "receive a hundredfold now in this time, houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and lands, with persecutions." Mark and First Peter have readers who know what it is both to "suffer for the name" and to receive kindnesses "in name that ye are Christ's" (Mk. 9:41).

It is in this deutero-Petrine age of world-wide suffering under persecution, offset by a world-wide drawing together of the Church, that we must find the true environment of the first attempt (or at least the first surviving attempt) to bind together the scattered anecdotes of the apostolic preaching into a story of the ministry and martyrdom of Jesus. The Gospels have not told us their full story until together with their transmitted material they furnish also, between the lines, an insight into the life of the primitive Church in that age of obscurity which followed the death of the great leaders. It is time that the question of gospel origins were lifted above the level of polemic. The apologist can afford to be satisfied with a date which had the unanimous endorsement of antiquity. The critic, if he be true to his professions, wants nothing but the verdict of history. The thoughtful Christian, expert or inexpert, wants only to know whether these primitive memorials reflect the life and spirit and teaching of Jesus in such a way as to make them live again in succeeding generations. This they are bound to do. But new and welcome light is destined to break forth from these narratives if together with the materials they embody historical enquiry can give us some knowledge of the media through which the record has passed. We have the Pauline Epistles to guarantee to us the story of the redemption wrought for the world by God in Christ. What we obtain in addition from Petrine story is not a mere transcript of the fisherman-Apostle's words, but sidelights from the primitive Church, reactions from unknown listeners, who after all, nameless as they are, made the story "the power of God unto salvation for as many as believe, whether Jews or Gentiles." It is not all loss to the Gospels that they have their "absorption bands" as well as their brilliant tints of transmitted light.

We should count it a disappointing result of study and effort merely to have overthrown that ill-founded limit set up by a superficial modern criticism over against the ancient tradition of a post-apostolic origin for Mark, forbidding us to consider a date later than the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. Doubtless it is in reality a better and sounder foundation for apologetic to regard the Gospel

of Mark as a post-apostolic compilation of traditions and documents current under the name of Peter, than to assume for it a reflection of the very words of Peter such as the internal evidence fails to support. But our object is not apologetic, but historical. It now appears that we are not dealing, as apologists have so long maintained, with Peter's preaching reduced to writing by an amanuensis either before, or shortly after his death. The Gospel according to Mark was really the output of some great church in the sub-apostolic period. Whether this was the church at Rome, as tradition has maintained from the first, or some other, it put forth a careful compilation which everywhere displaced earlier written accounts of the sayings and doings of the Lord. The displacement was probably due to a claim to greater authority. The work was widely received as truly representing the preaching of Peter. Much still remains unsolved as regards this precanonical, deutero-Petrine material, but the advantage of new insight into the beginnings of gospel literature will not be obtained unless we use results constructively. They should enable us to understand better the new stage of progress in the life of the Church, a stage marked by the substitution of the authority of Peter, reporter of the sayings and doings of the Lord, for the authority of Paul; when the literature of the catechist and teacher took the place of the encyclical of the missionary founder, when "Epistles" of Peter and James were followed by efforts to reproduce the Petrine story of the sayings and doings of the Lord, and the new Torah of Jesus.

Such knowledge as we have of the demands of the age which followed that of "the teaching of the Apostles" justifies the belief that the name Mark, and still more the name Peter, carried great weight. Both names were known to East as well as West. Both had come finally to be connected with Rome. If Rome averred on authority of Mark, originally one of the inner circle at Jerusalem, cousin of Barnabas, trusted companion and lieutenant of Paul and spiritual "son" of Peter, that its Gospel contained the real body of true evangelic tradition, smaller churches in the Greek-speaking world would have difficulty in maintaining the prestige of any "syntaxes of the precepts" or "narratives of the sayings and doings of the Lord" which they might have become accustomed to use. The case would be somewhat different in Aramaic-speaking regions, as at Antioch, and especially in Jerusalem, where the church claimed to have living oral tradition. But Jerusalem after the siege and overthrow of 70 A.D. was not in a condition to provide the Church with written Gospels, even had it been willing to throw open to public use what soon came to constitute its one great distinction.

As for Caesarea and Antioch they do appear, as matter of fact, to have furnished in due time their own improvements on Mark, principally by adding the teaching material of the Second Source. Luke-Acts is probably an Antiochian product, Matthew either from Caesarea or some other Palestinian centre where Greek was principally used. Its close would lead us to think of Galilee. Ephesus did the work for the Pauline churches of Asia, and did it nobly. But the Ephesian Gospel made small headway until it was at last baptized into the name of John. Even then, toward the close of the second century, it was not universally received. What concerns the student of Christian origins is not so much a few years added to or subtracted from the age of a given Gospel (even were it our earliest) as the ability to form some adequate conception of the great age of Gospel-composition inaugurated by Mark. It began after the death of the leading Apostles and principal eye-witnesses, and lasted scarcely more than a single generation. Once the generation of those who had known "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word" had passed away gospel writing quickly degenerated.

But the work performed by the Synoptic evangelists can scarcely be overestimated. It certainly saved the Christian Church from extinction, whether by absorption into one of the many theosophic sects contending for adherents under the empire, or by descending to the level of one of the numerous Jewish sects. This age of the composition of Gospels (for we must include in this period the Pauline evangelist of Ephesus also) gave to the world by far the most influential writings it has ever known. Yet the period is the obscurest in church history. It has no names of its own to celebrate, depending almost wholly on those of the past. It does not pretend to be a creative age. It is so overawed by the greater authority of the preceding generation as to resort to pseudonymity when it seeks to speak with authority. Yet its creations are the most immortal of all literature.

We would use the documents of the time to bridge the chasm between the missionary age of the Church, the age of Peter and Paul, and the post-apostolic, when the scattered brotherhoods began to unite against the common dangers of persecution on the one side, heresy on the other. It should be a help to group its few remaining monuments of the epistolary literature, disputed as they are in respect to both date and authorship, to see what light, if any, they can shed on gospel origins. The earliest of these remains is the so-called Epistle to the Hebrews, anonymous, but certainly not distant in origin from Mark and probably addressed to Rome, whence Mark is believed to emanate. We have next First Peter, a

writing whose Roman provenance is widely acknowledged, and whose date we have sought to establish but a few years later than our Gospel. In First Peter Mark is mentioned by name. Lastly we have the Epistle of James, certainly representing a very different milieu from the two already mentioned, but not distant in date from First Peter and like it addressed to the Christian "Diaspora." Is it not possible, with so much material practically contemporary in date, to form a clearer idea than heretofore of the situation faced by our evangelist, and the resources available to meet it.

The salient feature of the times for the infant Church was the new danger of world-wide official persecution by imperial policy. The Roman Empire, once a friend and protector against mob violence stirred up by Jewish jealousy, had become their enemy. This danger was the immediate one and the more urgent. Satan was conspicuous to all when he went about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he might devour. Less immediate and less obvious to the average believer was the danger of perversion from within. Christianity was rapidly growing to be a considerable religious force among those new religions of personal redemption which contended as rivals for dominion in Graeco-Roman civilization. With higher or lower motives Hellenistic theosophists and sectaries flocked in to seek the leadership. The age of the Apostles was past. There was no longer a Paul to dispute in the schools of Ephesus and stem the tide of superstition ever flowing from the mountains of Phrygia toward the coastlands. After his "departing" (ἄφιξις) came opportunity for "many grievous wolves to enter in" to Paul's mission field, "not sparing the flock." Also from among their own selves men arose, speaking perverse things to draw away the disciples after them (Acts 20:28 f.). The teaching of Peter was the natural resort of all who would maintain the purity of the message. But the death of Peter followed that of Paul by only a brief interval. Jerusalem and its group of apostolic teachers surrounding the person of James the Lord's brother might well be thought of, in spite of former misunderstandings. But James "and certain others" of the group (Josephus, *Ant.* XX, ix. 1) were stoned to death under Ananus the high priest in Jerusalem in 62, and after 70 the whole group was scattered. Caesarea not many years later sent to Hierapolis Philip, an old friend of Paul's; and Philip was accompanied by his "four virgin daughters that prophesied," one of whom married a Christian and remained at Ephesus. But "the churches of Asia" obtained their chief help from Palestine in stemming the tide of heresy in the form of a literature.

The first element of the Ephesian canon was an apocalypse, which

appeared under the name of "John," refuting the deniers of resurrection and judgment. Later additions took the form of Epistles and a Gospel, anonymous but ultimately superscribed by tradition with the same apostolic name as the Apocalypse. Previously the defence against heresy in the region of Ephesus had been carried on under the name of Paul. Here were drawn up with the aid of literary fragments really from Paul's hand, the so-called Pastoral Epistles to Timothy and Titus, already known to Ignatius and Polycarp. These use the name and authority of Paul against the heretics, particularly those who misuse the Law and declare the resurrection to be past already (Ti. 1:16; II Tim. 2:18). Ephesus was the centre of the battlefield, and Ephesus furnished ultimately, under the name of "John," the great answers of the Church first to the deniers of the resurrection and judgment, afterward to the perverters of the Lord's precepts. But the battle against false doctrine was as universal as the battle against persecution, and neither Jerusalem, nor Antioch, nor Ephesus was strong enough to supply a leadership for the Church at large.

It is significant as a reflection of these conditions of the Church at large that the epistolary writings we possess from this period are in two instances addressed as encyclicals intended either for the entire Christian community, or for a region so extensive as to give the document this "catholic" character. The "epistle" had been Paul's great weapon of acknowledged efficacy (II Cor. 10: 9 f.). It is taken up, as we have seen, at Rome under the name of "Peter" to meet the urgent danger of the imperial policy of persecution, encouraging the brethren in Anatolia, endorsing their faith learned from Paul and Silvanus, and commending to them the example of the Suffering Servant. "Peter" as a fellow-elder with Paul's appointees and "a witness of the sufferings of Christ" seeks to aid them in "tending the flock of God." Only a few years later Rome shows a similar sense of responsibility for the welfare of the brethren in Corinth, sending through Clement a long Epistle to aid in the Christian settlement of a local dispute. The leadership of "the flock of God" has not yet passed to the successors of Peter, but one can easily foresee what will be the outcome.

It is probably between these two epistles from Rome, First Peter and Clement, that we should date the "catholic" Epistle of James, addressed to "the twelve tribes of the (Christian) dispersion" with an adoption of the same figures of speech as in the opening chapter of First Peter. This also is an attempt to draw the Church together under a common leadership. James, whom the Palestinian church delighted to regard as head of the Christian world, designating him

"bishop of bishops," is the name assumed by this Palestinian writer, who is less concerned than 'Peter' for "the fiery persecution" extending throughout Christendom. Indeed the times had changed. Under Vespasian and Titus, and even the first years of Domitian, the Church had opportunity to recover from the hostility of Nero. The keenest experience of martyrdom had receded into the past. Heresy came into the foreground as the greater danger. Satan's power was now felt more in the form of the seducing serpent (II Cor. 11:3). And the distinctive function of Jerusalem was to maintain the purity of the faith. In the Epistle of James Jerusalem speaks to the Church at large. Here too the great weapon of Paul, the church letter, is taken up in an endeavor to cope with the universal danger. But the name assumed is not Paul's, and Paul's doctrine is not understood. Jerusalem was ultimately to furnish (probably under the name of Peter) her most precious contribution to the faith in those teachings of the Lord which were ultimately incorporated with Mark in the Palestinian and Antiochian Gospels. But as yet the mother-church claims to hold the teaching in oral form.

There is close affinity between James and the Second Source, but in the Epistle Jerusalem (or perhaps Caesarea acting for the Palestinian church) is attempting, like Rome, to use the encyclical after Paul's example. The author uses it in an eirenic spirit, but not without a keen rebuke for the doctrine of salvation by faith "apart from works of law." Thus in Palestine also the same general need is felt. 'James' as well as 'Peter' seeks to provide a much-needed catholic leadership. Jerusalem offers the Christian world a new law of liberty, taught in the spirit of that "wisdom which cometh from above." This is its ideal of the "bond of unity."

These two great post-apostolic Epistles are not written by the men whose names they bear; but the names assumed are far from valueless. The Epistles of First Peter and James are attempts to embody the spirit of Christian teaching as understood in the great centres where these names were chiefly revered. Their authors look back to a real Peter and a real James. Not that they may clothe their own thoughts with a factitious and spurious authority, but that they may convey to a generation whose need they profoundly appreciate the message which they truly believe these great leaders of the past would have supplied. We may deprecate the method. We may regret beyond measure that we have not the very words of Peter and James in person. But since these are denied us, surely it is better to have sincere attempts on the part of their followers to give us their message and spirit, than if there were no such at-

tempt at all. The Epistles of Peter and James embody the spirit of Christianity as understood in the post-apostolic age in the two great centres whence are derived the roots of Synoptic tradition, Jerusalem and Rome. Just as ancient criticism correlated the Epistle of Peter with the Gospel of Mark, so modern criticism would do well to study the Epistle of James in conjunction with its own discovery of the Second Source. But the literary weapon of the Church for its great battle of the new age was not to be forged by Paul. It was rather that to which the simple story told by Peter had given birth. Not the Epistle, but the Gospel, the story of the sayings and doings of Jesus, was the greatest literary product of the Church. It is the four Gospels which won the victory in the conflict against persecution without and heresy within.

It would carry us too far afield to attempt any correlation between Synoptic literature and the Pastoral Epistles. Their field, as already indicated, is that of Paul in Ionia. But with Hebrews the case is somewhat different. True, Hebrews is a local rather than a general epistle. But we have here a writing almost contemporary with Mark, earlier (to judge by traces of dependence) than First Peter, and probably addressed to a brotherhood of Christians resident in Rome. Kindred features of doctrine between Hebrews and Mark have already been pointed out, in particular the reaction against a Son of David Christology and in favor of a Christ "without father or mother and without a genealogy" miraculously manifested as Son of God by the resurrection, when God exalted him to His own "right hand." It has often been noted that in Hebrews traces of appeal to the earthly life of Jesus begin to appear, as in the references to the Temptation (Heb. 4:15), the Baptismal Call (5:5), Gethsemane (5:7), and crucifixion "outside the gate" (13:12). These are of course not evidences of literary connection with Mark, but merely of an environment common to the readers on both sides. The same is true of the conception of Judaism as marked by Sabbath-keeping, restriction of worship to a temple "built with hands" (ναὸς χειροποίητος, Mk. 14:58; *cf.* Heb. 9:11, 24), and a Law of carnal ordinances (Heb. 9:10; *cf.* Mk. 7:1-23) in contrast with a New Covenant of forgiveness through the sacrifice of Christ (Heb. 8:1-10:17; *cf.* Mk. 10:45; 14:24). A recent commentator on Hebrews wonders why the Sabbath issue is introduced in Heb. 3:1-4:13. One might equally wonder why Mark's account of the beginning of conflict between Jesus and the synagogue authorities concludes with two instances of his opposition to their sabbatarianism, apparently appended from a different original context and concluding with the sinister statement "And the Pharisees went

out, and straightway with the Herodians took counsel against him how they might destroy him.'' The explanation is not literary dependence, but a common atmosphere. At Rome (as indeed throughout the Gentile world) the Jew is known as ''the Sabbath-keeping Jew.'' According to the *Preaching of Peter* and other first- and second-century writers he is a worshipper of ''angels and archangels,'' which accounts for the opening argument of Hebrews, and perhaps for the title superscribed by the canon-makers. But this indictment of Jewish superstition plays no part in Mark, unless it be in the epithet ''adulterous generation'' (Mk. 8:38). Angels appear in the background of Mark (1:13; 8:38) though they play no part in the drama, the resurrection angel becoming merely ''a young man'' clad in shining garments. But Mark's indictment of Judaism has otherwise the same features as that of Hebrews. Like the author of Hebrews Mark would substitute for the Jewish sabbath

> the majestic march
> Of grand eternity

just as with Hebrews he conceives God's true temple to be

> the unmeasured arch
> Of yon ethereal sky.

For a ''law of carnal ordinances,'' man-made, he would substitute, not a new and higher Torah like the later Synoptists, but what God ordained ''from the beginning of the creation'' (10:4, 9). Instead of ''washings of cups and pots and brasen vessels,'' and distinctions of meats, which constitute the ''vain worship'' of a people of ''hypocrites'' that honor God with their lips while their heart is far from him (Mk. 7:1-8), Mark would substitute that inward purity from evil thoughts and purposes which constitutes the real ''commandment of God'' (7:14-23).

Coincidences of doctrine and feeling such as these afford no evidence of literary connection. At most they testify to a common atmosphere, characteristic, perhaps, but hardly distinctive, of the readers addressed. And this is the utmost we have a right to expect between two writings addressed to the same locality not far from the same date, but otherwise so different in character and purpose. Some may think it possible to find a connection between the figurative comparison of Jesus' death in Heb. 10:20 to a departure ''within the veil'' and the ''rending'' of the temple veil, a metaphor taken in Mk. 15:38 as the report of a concrete and literal occurrence. It may be possible to find further kindred features.

But these are not a matter of vital interest to the historian. If they serve in some minor degree to help in the determination of dates, well and good. But mere dates are barren things in themselves. They are no more satisfactory to the religious mind than the metallic keys to which they may be compared. But however juiceless and tasteless to the devotional palate, to the student they unlock treasures of understanding when applied with knowledge of the times.

If the Epistle to the Hebrews be near in date to Mark and addressed to the same Christian brotherhood, we shall do well first of all to take note of their common spirit, the heroic spirit of martyrdom. Hebrews is written to a church on the eve of persecution "unto blood." "A great fight of affliction" has already been endured. Another, perhaps heavier, is to come. The author holds up the example of Christ "who for the joy that was spread out before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the majesty on high." Not so much the picture of the Suffering Servant, enduring in silence his unmerited punishment, is that which uplifts the heart of this associate and "brother" of Timothy, but that of the noble army of martyrs, Jesus at their head,

> who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the power of fire, out of weakness were made strong, waxed mighty in war, turned to flight armies of aliens.

The Gospel of Mark echoes these martial tones. The lion is its worthy symbol. Its hero is the chosen Son of God, endowed with power, victorious over the strong man armed, triumphant even on the cross. Its path of redemption is the Way of the Cross. Eternal life is for those who have forsaken all that they may follow Jesus to Calvary. "He that would save his life shall lose it. He that will lose his life for my sake and the gospel's the same shall save it." Such is the characteristic call of its Christ of God. This Gospel knows no other way of salvation (Mk. 10:17 ff.). To borrow the phrase of a recent writer, Mark is characterized by a "martyr-*motif*." To this evangelist alone, baptism and the cup are, as to Paul, symbols of "communion with the Lord's death" (Mk. 10:39). Had we to seek an environment such as might give birth to this spirit it would be that to which the author of Hebrews addresses his exhortation, bidding his readers count neither possessions nor life dear for the gospel's sake (Heb. 10:32-36; *cf.* Mk. 9:43-48), recalling not only their own great fight of afflictions of former days, but bidding them also "Remember them that had the rule over you,

men that spake unto you the word of God, and considering the issue (ἔκβασις) of their life, imitate their faith."

In a sense far from that contemplated by the critics of Tübingen Mark is the Gospel of Peter and Paul. Not in an effort at compromise between opposing parties in the Church does it seek the welfare of the whole, but conscious of the great message each Apostle had to convey, and in the spirit of their heroic martyrdom, it opens to the universal brotherhood of Christ the treasury of its apostolic teaching. Reflections are not wanting here of the free spirit of Paul. The lessons of Romans dominate in more than one of its carefully compiled discourses. Sometimes the Paulinistic spirit of those who in Corinth demanded freedom from law with too little of the imitation of Christ seems more prominent than the truly Pauline. But the foundation of all is a story which had been heard at Rome long before they had seen the face of Paul or received his great Epistle. It was the story told by Peter as Paul himself had once "received" it, the story of the Servant who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many. It is this which made the gift of Rome to the Greek-speaking Christian world immortal. Not Matthew, as Renan said, mistaking a mere transcript for the original, is the most influential book ever written, but Mark, earliest of our extant Gospels, first attempt to give to the world a joint message from the martyred Peter and Paul.

The End.

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